

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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THE GUIANA ORDINANCES—APPEAL TO GOVERNMENT.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, &c. &c.

MY LORD,—It is with regret that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society feel themselves again compelled to call your lordship's serious attention to the subject of the immigration of labourers into the British colonies, and to entreat your early consideration of the new aspect in which it presents itself to public attention.

Your lordship, as colonial minister, has conceded to the West India body the power of drawing a large supply of labourers from the British settlements on the western coast of Africa, from Singapore, and it is understood from Hindostan also, without limiting them, as heretofore, in reference to a certain proportion of the sexes.

Taking advantage of this concession, the Combined Court of British Guiana have passed two bills, one to perpetuate the present charge of the civil list, embracing a sum of nearly ten thousand pounds per annum for ecclesiastical purposes, to the year 1855; and the other to raise a loan of five hundred thousand pounds for immigration purposes, to be chargeable, with the interest thereon, on the import duties of the colony for a period of twenty years from the time of its being effected, when both are to be finally paid off.

Objectionable as the first bill is in point of principle, and onerous as it has been found to be on a large majority of that portion of her Majesty's subjects in the colony who do not belong to the Anglican, the Presbyterian, the Roman Catholic, or the Dutch Reformed Church, the Committee would not have judged it within their province to have referred to it, had it not been coupled with the Loan Bill, and evidently designed to influence her Majesty's Government in their decision in its favour; for its continuance beyond 1848, as a charge on the general revenue of the colony, is made contingent on the royal assent being given to the Loan Bill. By these two measures, should they become law, an enormous amount of taxation beyond what is legitimately required for carrying on the government of the colony will be imposed on its inhabitants, especially on the emancipated classes, for ends into which their interests do not enter, and the obvious design of which is to benefit the planters and merchants as a body, chiefly at their expense.

These important bills were, with the permission of his Excellency the Governor of the colony, introduced and passed through the Combined Court with indecent haste, scarcely more than twenty-four hours having elapsed from the time they were first submitted to the Court until they passed through their last stage, and received the sanction of the executive. They were passed without discussion, in the absence of the more watchful and liberal members of the Court, without an opportunity being allowed the tax-payers either for consideration or protest, and hurried off by the mail for the acceptance of her Majesty, as though they had met with general approbation, or, at least, with no opposition from the public at large.

The object of the Loan Bill is to raise the large sum of half a million of pounds sterling, for the purpose of introducing into the colony, during the next five years, fifty thousand labourers from Africa, China, and British India, with the design of lowering the present rate of wages to the minimum point on which an adult labourer can subsist. The loan, with the interest thereon, amounting in all to more than three quarters of a million of pounds sterling, is to be repaid by a tax on imported goods, or, in other words, out of the pockets of the consumers, the chief body of whom are the labouring classes.

On the score of justice, the Committee venture respectfully to say, this bill should not receive the sanction of the Crown. If labourers are wanted, it is not too much to expect that those who are to benefit by them should find the necessary funds for their introduction. On this point the Committee would take the liberty of referring your lordship to a despatch of the Marquis of Normanby, dated the 15th August, 1839, in which he says, that, if, for measures "beneficial to all and detrimental to none," it were right to allow the public taxes being applied to immigration, he is "not so well convinced that it is just or wise to appropriate the public revenue in aid of *this* service;" for, his lordship adds, "if the capitalists are anxious to enlarge their agricultural operations, it seems reasonable that the expense should be borne by themselves, and that the funds to which every member of society is a contributor should not, for this purpose, be diverted from their more legitimate destination." But since the year the noble Marquis wrote these words, when the taxes imposed amounted to 533,365 dollars, they have largely increased in consequence of immigration, viz., to 700,918 dollars in 1840; 1,145,870 dollars in 1841; and 1,103,102 dollars in 1842. During these three years upwards of 500,000

dollars were devoted to immigration alone; and it is now proposed to burden a colony composed almost exclusively of labourers with a heavy debt, for the benefit of parties chiefly non-resident proprietors and their agents, whose sole object is to realise fortunes and expend them in Europe.

On the score of economy the Committee conceive the bill should be rejected. The five hundred thousand pounds loan is to be appropriated to immigration. This of course must be paid off, with the interest accruing thereon; but no provision is made for the return passage of immigrants to Africa, China, and India, at the expiration of five years. This provision, however, must be made, and will entail a large additional burden on the colony. Nor is this all. As the immigrants will be composed almost exclusively of adult male labourers, others must be introduced at the end of five years, to fill up the chasm occasioned by deaths as well as by removals, or the cultivation of the colony cannot be kept up; and this will entail fresh expenses on its inhabitants. To the spontaneous emigration of skilled labourers to the colony, to the introduction of suitable settlers of both sexes by the parties to be benefited by their labour, and to the natural increase of the Creole population, must those interested in its welfare look for its future prosperity; and not to schemes like the present, as objectionable in principle as they are ruinous in expense. To suppose that a colony composed of about 100,000 persons can bear the burden now attempted to be imposed upon it, in addition to its general annual expenditure, for twenty years to come, is, in the opinion of the Committee, as unreasonable as it is unjust.

On the score of morality, the Committee conceive that the Loan Bill ought to be rejected. Its object is to raise the means for introducing 50,000 labourers into British Guiana. These will be composed, with few exceptions, entirely of men—Africans, Chinese, and Indians—destitute for the most part of religious principle, and not governed by those moral considerations which, to a great extent, happily influence the emancipated classes among whom they will be thrown. Without female society, herding together on plantations, speaking languages unknown to each other and to the inhabitants of the colony, grossly sensual and idolatrous as they are known to be, the Committee cannot but regard with alarm the pernicious influence of these strangers on the Creole population, as likely to be injurious in the highest degree.

For these reasons, among others, the Committee entreat your lordship will not recommend the Immigration Loan Bill of British Guiana to the approval of her Majesty in Council, or that, at least, time will be given to those most interested in it as a fiscal burden to be heard in relation thereto.

I have the honour to be,

On behalf of the Committee, my lord,

Your lordship's obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

JOHN SCOBLE, Sec.

27, New Broad-street, June 9, 1844.

REPLY.

Downing-street, 20th June, 1844.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, requesting, on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, an interview with his lordship, for the purpose of presenting a memorial (of which you have transmitted a copy) on the subject of an ordinance lately passed by the Court of Policy of Guiana, for raising a loan to promote the introduction of labourers into that colony. Lord Stanley does not consider it necessary to trouble the Anti-Slavery Society to call upon him on the subject of that ordinance, which has been brought under his notice by the Governor, and will receive his full consideration.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

GEORGE HOPE.

ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

(From the *Moniteur*.)

CHAMBER OF PEERS, MAY 14.

Admiral de MACKAU, Minister of Marine and the Colonies:—My lords, the question of the abolition of slavery in the colonies has been for several years the subject of deep solicitude to the King's government and to the parliament. Two propositions, successively adopted by the elective chamber, have affirmed the principle of this great measure. Since 1840 funds have been annually supplied to the department of the Marine, to furnish the means of establishing an authoritative protectorate of the slaves, and of advancing their improvement by religious instruction. A commission presided over by the Duke de Broglie, with which several members of the two chambers were associated, was instructed to consider the ques-



tion, and to inquire into the best means of its solution. At the close of the first session of this commission one of my predecessors solemnly and publicly announced to the colonies, that the moment was come for undertaking the abolition of slavery, and that nothing remained but to deliberate on the means of its execution. Quite recently, in fine, the cabinet had reiterated the same declaration.

In a word, my lords, if we do not think the time come to adopt all the recommendations of the commission on colonial affairs, we consider it urgently necessary to develop fully the system of moral and physical ameliorations in the condition of the slaves which was some years since commenced. Every plan for absolute and immediate emancipation being set aside, in the opinion of the chambers as well as in that of the government, only one method remains, in which the first place must be given to a series of measures adapted to prepare the blacks for freedom. On this point we are in perfect agreement with the arrangements which have been proposed in the report of the Duke de Broglie, as the basis of either of the two systems of emancipation recommended to the attention of the government.

According to these views, the laws respecting the slaves, which go back to a period anterior to 1789, require a kind of general revision. We shall not now open all the modifications which they ought to undergo. What is more immediately important is the principal conditions of that intermediate regimen by which the blacks shall be prepared to occupy a place in colonial society.

We propose to establish new regulations in relation to—

1. The food and maintenance due from the masters to the slaves.
2. The system of discipline on the plantations.
3. The hours of work and rest.
4. The marriage of slaves, together with their religious and elementary instruction.
5. The possession of property by slaves, and their right of self-redemption.

The insufficiency of the present regulations on these points has been evident since the attempt to execute the royal ordinance of January, 1840, which enjoined public officers to exercise, by means of periodical inspection, a protectorate over the slaves, and required the priests to supply religious instruction on the plantations.

The condition of the blacks—we mention it here with pleasure—has derived some substantial mitigation from the improvement of colonial manners, and from the humanity of the masters. On every occasion the magistrates are unanimous in declaring that the enactments of the Code Noir and subsequent regulations have partly fallen into disuse; and that, in those which remain in force or can be revived, there is neither an adequate enumeration of the duties of the masters, nor the necessary means of punishing those who violate them.

The existing jurisdictions do not respond to the protectorate in a satisfactory manner. The composition of the assize courts offers no adequate guarantees in the case of judicial proceedings, and the offices of the justices of the peace need to be further subdivided, in order to bring within reach of the rural plantations those measures of punishment which exceed the domestic authority of the proprietors.

With respect to moral and religious instruction, there equally remains much to be done. The colonial clergy requires a better organization. To the ecclesiastics who supply the parish churches, there must be added missionary priests to enter the dwelling-houses, who shall cultivate and secure the confidence of the masters, and who, while religiously preparing the blacks for their future duties, shall incidentally instruct both classes of the population in their present obligations.

Our intention is greatly to enlarge the number of the rural chapels. Those which have been erected with the funds supplied by the department of marine for this purpose are far from meeting the case. A much greater number must be built, if we wish to engage the blacks to habits of piety, without infringing on the hours of labour.

It is time also to do something effectual for the encouragement of marriage among the slaves. The matrimonial union of persons not free has been subjected by ancient laws to regulations which are not sufficient to attain this end. To constitute families in a state of slavery is certainly a delicate and difficult task; but no one will deny that it is one of the essential elements of that social transformation which we contemplate. We understand it so; and it is one of those ameliorations which we shall most solicitously endeavour to effect.

There are two other points which recommend themselves to the immediate notice of the government; I mean the possession of property by slaves, and their right of self-redemption.

At present the slave can hold no property. According to the letter of the law he has no right to any thing, but rest on a Sunday. If his master spares him any other day in the week, it is at the cost of feeding himself; and even this the law would forbid, if the custom had not become pretty general. This custom should be regulated. It ought also to be combined with the support of infants, the aged, and the infirm, and the grant of lands which the blacks may cultivate for themselves. But it is an indispensable complement to this measure that the black should be able to dispose at pleasure of the produce of his reserved labour, and consequently that, within a certain limit, he should have a right of property and possession. This right, and the right of self-redemption, (which is inseparable from it,) are, in the eyes of the government, active elements of civilization for the blacks, and an introduction to habits of voluntary labour. We know what objections this two-fold measure has en-

countered, but we think they belong to a class of views incompatible with the work which the government has undertaken. Let it be recollected also, that similar regulations have always existed in the Spanish colonies, and, since 1834, in the Danish.

Undoubtedly, all these measures belong to a class which it was the intention of the legislature to enable the government to enact, when they confided it to the royal prerogative to introduce ameliorations into the condition of the slaves.

By a false interpretation of the law of 1833, however, objections have been raised which tend to restrict the power of the crown. We believe these are groundless, but we think it convenient to remove all pretext for alleging them, because it is important that, in such delicate matters, the proceedings of the government should not be liable to dispute. It is not enough that a measure should be justified in the end; its equity must from the first be manifest to all.

With these views we now demand of you some modifications in Art. 2 and 3 of the law of the 24th of April, 1833, in order more precisely to determine the powers which, in relation to slavery, shall belong to a royal ordinance. These modifications, which may be considered as a simple development of the law of 1833, relate, in a few words, to the following subjects:—

The 6th paragraph of Art. 3 confers the right of determining, by royal ordinance, "such ameliorations to be introduced into the condition of persons not free as shall be consistent with acknowledged rights." To this paragraph (the 7th in the *projet*) we propose to add the following words:—"and in particular with respect to the nourishment and support due from the masters to the slaves; to the disciplinary system of the plantations; to the hours of labour and rest; to the marriage of persons not free, and their elementary and religious instruction; to the possession of property, and the right of self-redemption."

The 7th paragraph of the same article relates "to penal regulations applicable to persons not free, in all cases short of the punishment of death." We propose to add to this paragraph (which will be the 8th) these words:—"and to punishments applicable to the masters, in case of violating their obligations towards their slaves."

Lastly, we require that a ninth paragraph should be added to this article, in order to confer on the crown the right of issuing ordinances for creating justices of the peace, and in relation to the constitution of the assize courts in the cases referred to in the 8th paragraph.

The alterations proposed in the 2nd article are connected with those which are proposed in the third, and those which have just been pointed out.

In a *projet* which has for its object the modification of an organic law, we have not thought it right to introduce financial arrangements. These will be brought forward subsequently, and by specific propositions demanding the funds necessary for carrying out the measures now proposed to you. At the present moment we can announce, that an additional sum of 1,200,000 francs will suffice to meet the new expenses for the first year, and we hope to reduce it by one half in following years.

My Lords, the object for which we solicit this new testimony of confidence is a pledge given to generous views, and at the same time to a prudent and moderate policy. Without at all prejudging the issues of this great question, it manifestly prepares the solution of it. We are sure we may reckon on your acquiescence.

PROJECT OF LAW.

Art. I. Arts. 2 and 3 of the law of the 24th of April, 1833, are repealed, and replaced by the following articles:—

Art. II. The legislative power of the kingdom shall enact—

1. Laws relative to the exercise of political rights;
2. Laws civil and criminal relating to free persons, with the limitations specified in paragraph 8, Art. 3;
3. Penal laws assigning to free persons the punishment of death;
4. Laws determining the special powers of governors in what relates to measures of high police and general safety;
5. Laws on the judicial organization, excepting what relates to the creation of justices of the peace, and the composition of the assize courts in the cases specified in the 9th paragraph of Art. 3;
6. Laws relating to commerce, the custom-house, the suppression of the slave-trade, and the connexion of the colonies with the mother country.

Art. III. By royal ordinances, the colonial councils, or their delegates as heretofore understood, enactments shall be made concerning—

1. The administrative organization, the municipal system excepted;
2. The reception of gifts and legacies by public establishments;
3. The superintendence of the press;
4. Public instruction;
5. The organization and duty of the militia;
6. The terms and manner of enfranchisement, with the census of the population;
7. Ameliorations to be introduced into the condition of persons not free, which shall be compatible with acquired rights; and in particular—

The nourishment and support due from the masters to the slaves;
The disciplinary system of the plantations;
The hours of work and rest;
The marriage of persons not free, and their elementary and religious instruction;

The possession of property by persons not free, and their right of self-redemption—

8. With the exception of cases which involve capital punishment, the penal arrangements to which persons not free shall be subjected, and the punishments applicable to masters who shall violate their obligations to their slaves;

9. The appointment of justices of the peace, and the composition of the assize courts, when they shall be assembled to take cognizance of offences to which the punishments specified in paragraph 8 shall be applicable.

CHRISTIAN SLAVERY IN AFRICA.

FROM MR. RICHARDSON.

It is perhaps some time since that you have had your attention directed to the subject of Christian slavery in the south of Morocco, and the countries extending therefrom to the Great Desert. Now there is something like a regular system of Christian slavery carried on, not more than five or six days' journey from Mogador, towards the south. This slavery consists of the seizing of shipwrecked sailors, principally fishermen from the Canary Islands. We know nothing of the number of the captives, for Wadnoon, and the adjacent countries, although but some five to eight days' journey from Mogador, are, with respect to the information of Christians, a sealed book. It is a settled and most religious practice amongst the Moors of this country to keep Christians entirely ignorant of the south, notwithstanding that Christians are trading continually with people from Lous, Wadnoon, and all the districts bordering on the Desert. We only hear of these slaves or captives now and then, when one escapes, and, after being bought and sold by a score of different masters, and waiting some months, is redeemed. Of his companions he rarely knows anything. They are gone: they are either lost on the coast, or conveyed far away into the Desert, and perhaps for ever! In former times, when vessels navigated through the channel (if it may be so called) of the Canary Islands and the coast of Wadnoon, a great number of vessels were cast away, and many slaves were made. But now, as masters of vessels have become acquainted with this dangerous coast, they pass to the west, and not to the east of the Canaries, and there are but few shipwrecks in comparison with former times. Still, however, fishermen from the Canaries are frequently either surprised when becalmed or whilst fishing near the coast, or seized when wrecked by the furious trade-winds, which sweep the rocky shores with destruction six months out of the year. The Arabs, having got them in their possession, act with all the cunning and avarice of the slave-dealer, aided by the Jews, who always render it more difficult for the consular agents of Mogador to purchase them; for although a Jew, by the Mohammedan law, cannot purchase a slave, yet, by purchasing them through others from the Arabs, who first seize them, the poor slaves are usually kept months in the Desert before they can be redeemed. Throughout the whole of Morocco and its neighbouring deserts, Jews are found in swarms, being necessary to the commerce of the Moyad Arabs. Of course, being slaves themselves, for slavery is the prolific source of all vice, the Jews almost universally practise the most detestable and grovelling immoralities in this country, and they can only be trusted in cases where concealment is necessary for their own safety. The Arabs, having got possession of their Christian captives, coax them, to see if they understand any mechanical arts, which the Arabs greatly esteem; and if so, they refuse to sell them, and carry them into the Desert. But those who cannot, or will not, make themselves useful, are generally sold to the consular agents of the city, provided they are not massacred amongst the Arabs in their quarrels for the booty. There is now a Spanish fisherman near Wadnoon waiting to be redeemed. The Arab sheiks who hold him demand two hundred dollars for his redemption. Mr. Willshire, British vice-consul here, who acts for the Spanish, objects to the price, as being too much. Besides this, he is afraid to advance any money for the captive's redemption, as, when once paid, he may never get it back; the Spanish government,—a people so chivalrous in bygone days, and so proud of their country against the people of this very country,—not being now over-zealous in the redemption of their captive countrymen. Mr. Willshire redeemed a Spanish boy some three years ago, and had the greatest difficulty in getting the government of Spain to refund the purchase money. In the present case, the poor man lingers between hope and fear at Wadnoon, his only real protection being the avarice of his master, who, like all slave-dealers, is supposed to be willing to take care of him as he takes care of his horse. It is reported in the south that this poor man is one saved out of four, the other three having perished on the coast, or by the massacre of the Arabs. But, however, at present, we know nothing certain of this, although but a few days' journey from the place where the disaster took place, so miserable is our means of information with respect to putting a stop to this system of Christian slavery. Various ways and means might perhaps be adopted. In the first place, the Emperor of Morocco, pretending that he has a jurisdiction over all these countries as far as the confines of the Desert, (if he has, or, as the prince of the orthodox Mussulman church of Morocco, may pretend to have, with the appearance of right) he could, if he would, get the greatest part of these slaves immediately released. But if the Emperor has not the power, Great Britain has. A single individual sent to that country from the British Government would be able to make a treaty with the Sheiks of the district, that is, the country along the coast of Wadnoon and ex-

tending to the Desert, by which, for a trifling sum, all Christian slaves could be instantly delivered up as soon as taken. It is true that these Christian slaves are principally Spaniards, but certainly that would, or should, rather increase the zeal of humanity to release these poor Spaniards from a cruel and hapless slavery in the wilds of the Zahara. It would be necessary, however, that the British Government should open some commercial relations with the Arab tribes of the south of Morocco, in order to conciliate their goodwill. You are perhaps aware that the Ironmongers' Company of London have at their disposal an immense sum for the liberation of British captives made slaves in southern Morocco, and neighbouring countries. This money, I believe, was left by a merchant who was once a slave there, and since that time, owing to the few British captives who have been redeemed, it has increased to an enormous amount. I hear that the company, not knowing what to do with the money, have petitioned Parliament to build a school with a portion of the money; but certainly it would be much more in accordance with the original object and intention of the benevolent donor, were the surplus fund devoted to the redemption of *all other Christian captives*, of whatever nation. In the present case, because two hundred dollars are not forthcoming, a poor Spaniard is kept in slavery, not knowing whether he will ever be released; whilst his avaricious master begrudges every piece of bread he gives him to keep body and soul together. It is impossible to tell the number of Christian slaves who perish in the South. The consular agents of Mogador are perhaps more ignorant of the country than persons residing in London. It is absolutely requisite that the Committee, or our Government, or the Ironmongers' Company, should take some means of informing the tribes of the Desert that all Christians will be redeemed if brought to the representatives of Christian nations in Morocco. This might be done by a circular, or by an agent sent to Wadnoon. However, I can only suggest these things to the Committee, who can easily bring them before the attention of our government.

THE LIBERTY PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE anti-slavery organization which took place in the United States in 1833, had no definite plan in regard to the political means to be used for the attainment of its object. Though by its constitution it bound its members to use all their political power for the overthrow of slavery, it left the mode an open question, confining itself to the more elementary work of revolutionising the opinions of men. It rather deprecated the formation of a distinct political party, on the supposition that anti-slavery action upon the existing parties would be a safer and more effective policy. In the course of six years the society enrolled several hundreds of auxiliaries, which probably numbered, of both sexes, more than 100,000 members, and fruits were reasonably looked for. Men had been returned to Congress who answered favourably all the questions of the abolitionists, and obtained their votes, and who yet proved themselves quite subservient to the slave power, and even suffered the petitions of their constituents to be treated with contempt, without a word of remonstrance. Worse than this, it was found that a large portion of those who called themselves abolitionists, each permitting himself to be persuaded by his party preferences that his own party was more favourable to liberty than its opposite, were actually from year to year contributing by their votes to sustain a slave-holding government. It became evident that, whatever might be the anti-slavery sentiment of the northern people, so long as they divided their votes between two political parties which were bidding against each other for favour at the slave-holding south, slavery was likely to be safe.

As early as 1838, a few began to turn their attention to the question of the formation of a distinct anti-slavery political party, to combine those of all shades of political faith who agree that the abolition of slavery is the most important of all political questions, and one which must be settled before any other great question can be; in other words, who agree first of all to deliver the country from the rule of what has been called the slaveocracy. The man who first moved in the matter was Myson Holley, Esq., of the state of New York; to whom, no less than to De Witt Clinton, New York owes her great canal, and a man of the highest character for wisdom and integrity. He spent the best energies of a gigantic mind, and the last three years of a long and honourable life, in endeavouring to rouse his countrymen to form a party to carry into practice the great principles of impartial justice. The contest for the presidency which came on in 1840 was unusually severe. Yet about seven thousand men were found who tore themselves away from the parties with which they had acted and rallied around the pure standard set up by Myson Holley. They gave their votes for men of tried integrity, who openly identified themselves with the cause of abolition and impartial justice to all colours. The anti-slavery vote has been since regularly on the increase. In 1843 it numbered 57,000. At the next presidential election it is expected to be nearly double that number. It is now well understood by the politicians of the United States that this new and flourishing Liberty party can be put down but in one way, viz., by taking its work out of its hands, and leaving it nothing to do. Hence the laws in many of the free states abolishing the remnants of slavery, as the repeal of the intermarriage act, and the law forbidding her magistrates to take cognizance of the cases of fugitive slaves of Massachusetts, and the law granting to persons arrested as fugitives a trial by jury in New York. Hence the extreme anxiety manifested by some in Congress to get rid of the rule excluding anti-slavery petitions; and hence the remarkably moderate tone of the slaveholders. The more prudent

of the upholders of slavery are now exceedingly cautious lest any thing should be done to drive voters into the ranks of the Liberty party, a party which is fast outgrowing the only argument ever urged against it by three-fourths of the people of the north, viz., its own numerical insignificance. The real motive which operates so strongly against the annexation of Texas is, that it would give an immediate ascendancy to the Liberty party, so that, before the slaveholders could avail themselves of the accession to their strength, slavery itself would be knocked from under them by the exercise of certain constitutional powers vested in Congress.

The Liberty party, in the most open and solemn manner, has avowed that no law or constitution can be binding which contradicts the law of God, or the self-evident principles of justice; consequently, that no law can be binding which goes to impose or reinforce the chains of chattel slavery. It therefore rejects that interpretation of the constitution which makes it an instrument to carry out the designs of slave-catchers. This position is matter of the most serious fright to the slave-holders, and of approbation and delight to more and more of the honest and right-minded. It may now be regarded as certain that slavery must fall. Either the slave-holders themselves will relinquish their system of forced labour, and the political control over the north by which they have maintained it, or the Liberty party must grow till it wields the power of the Federal Government, and knocks the props from under that "domestic institution" which has brought the whole country into disgrace and well nigh ruin.

STATE OF THE FRENCH COLONIES.

In looking over a mass of French documents we have collected, we have been struck, amongst other things, with the tables showing the decrease of the slave-population in the slave colonies of France, during the seven years ending in 1840. According to those tables, the average of births and deaths for the seven years is as follows:—In Martinique, births, 2,388; deaths, 2,295; augmentation per annum, 93; Guadeloupe, births, 2,058; deaths, 2,008; augmentation, 50; Cayenne, births, 343; deaths, 510; diminution per annum, 177; Bourbon, births, 1,210; deaths, 2,290; diminution, 1,020. Thus it appears, that in these four colonies, there is, on the average of seven years, an annual excess of deaths over births of 1,043 per annum, or 7,291 for the seven years! In Martinique and Guadeloupe, the female slaves exceed the male by 8,784; in Cayenne and Bourbon, the male slaves exceed the females by 17,837, in consequence of the continuance of the slave-trade up to a late period, especially in Bourbon, though it is said that African slaves are still introduced into Cayenne in small numbers, *via* the Brazils. There is a slight increase in the slave population of Martinique and Bourbon of 143 per annum upon a population of 170,612, whereas upon a moderate computation the increase should be at least 5,000 per annum. How frightful a system must that be which reverses the order of nature so completely! And with how much certainty does such a result prove that the slaves are both overworked and underfed in the French colonies! No other argument than this is necessary to prove the cruelty of the system.

According to the census of 1840, the population of the French colonies stood thus:—Free, white and coloured, 122,793; slaves, males, 131,134; females, 121,990; total slaves, 253,124; grand total, 375,917. In Martinique, the number of whites (free) is 9,904, coloured (free) 31,742; Cayenne whites (free) 1,180, coloured (free) 4,517. The returns for Guadeloupe and Bourbon do not distinguish the free whites from the coloured population.

Another fact has struck us in looking over the returns, namely, the vast number of slaves who have changed hands within a given number of years. In Guadeloupe, in a period of fifteen years (1825 to 1839) there were sold 37,871 slaves. By public sale, 24,554; by private sale, 11,349; by order of the courts, 1,968. Distributed according to age, the result is as follows:—From one to thirteen years old, 7,699; from fourteen to twenty years, 5,189; from twenty-one to forty years, 11,241; from forty-one to fifty years, 2,548; from fifty-one to sixty years, 2,042; and without distinction of age, 9,153. It is impossible to consider this fact, without being convinced of the large amount of human misery which must have resulted from these sales. Thus are the moral nature and social affections of our race tortured by slavery. Under the present system the negroes feel, when marriage is proposed to them by the priest, that it is a charge without an equivalent, and they say so. They are not their own, their wives are not their own, their children are not their own; they can be sold and separated at the will, or to meet the exigences of their masters: why should they be married? The consequence is, that the number of marriages in Martinique during the seven years ending 1840, does not exceed twenty-four; Guadeloupe, fourteen; Cayenne, thirty-one; for Bourbon no returns are given. How demoralizing, as well as oppressive and brutal, must be the system which produces such fruits as these!

DREADFUL STATE OF CUBA.

From a private Letter from Havana.

There is no doubt but a widely extended plot has been discovered for murdering the white population, destroying their property, and endeavouring to make the blacks masters of the island; and the discovery has been made but just in time to stop this most horrible catastrophe, or at least to save the thousands of lives such an attempt would have cost. The Government is proceeding in the conviction of the poor wretches in

a manner well worthy of the descendants of the inquisitors. A few prisoners on suspicion being taken, they are obliged, by a process which is literally flogging to death, to confess something, and to name those who they know are concerned: thus taking up suspected people, with separate examinations, they have collected a mass of evidence which, with a good deal of falsehood, has also much truth in relation to the extent of the intended conspiracy. It is found that the free blacks and mulattoes are the heads, and most concerned: there are, however, many white people also taken up on these forced declarations; for the prisoners have shown some sense, if they are obliged to name some person, in naming a white, as it puts the Government in a more difficult position.

The barbarities which are hourly practising are frightful. To the extent of 3,000 lashes have been given before the poor wretch has found rest in death. I could name many estates where several have been flogged to death, or are maimed for life. On the estates where any disturbances have taken place, or suspicion rests, the Commissioners send people (some ignorant brutes) to take declarations, and if the owner of the slaves attempts to interfere, he falls under suspicion.

I have been called away this very moment to see the wife of an English engineer, in whom, of course, I am much interested. Her husband drives the sugar-mill and engine on an estate belonging to some friends of mine: he has been five years in the country, and always in their employ, a most sober and excellent man. He last year went home, and brought out a young wife, who lives with him on the estate. He has saved some money, which is in the hands of his employers. At the beginning of the disturbances some slaves were taken up, who confessed a plan to join the negroes on the property La Pay, and murder the whites; and the first man to be killed—because, I suppose, the most to be feared on such an occasion—was this engineer, Elkin—his wife, of course, to be spared for a worse fate. In the face of all evidence, a person who had a spite against him denounced him to the delighted authorities, who soon manufactured two or three more denunciations, and put him in prison. His employers, I am pleased to say, are most kind, in spite of the odium of defending an Englishman. They sent their carriage for him, that he should not be dragged with a rope, at the point of a lance, like a felon, through the country. His wife has just come here to see the Consul, who does all he can; but the present Governor is absolute, and even refuses to answer applications.

Were I to give a detail of—not all I hear, but all I know, it would turn your blood. Two men, a mulatto and a black, were killed in the open streets yesterday evening, from mere spite, by the crowd. I met a poor woman this morning, a most respectable mulatto, whose brother is taken up because he went on board an English vessel of war the other day. After a coloured or black man goes to prison no one knows what is done to him. The tribunal is secret, and he can have no friends. He is first condemned upon tortured evidence, and then called upon for his defence. Not a word is mentioned in the papers, and the strangers who do not know the place and the people would imagine nothing was the matter. No one, except the English, dare openly condemn the measures of Government.

From the *Morning Chronicle*.

A letter from Havana, of the 4th instant, gives an alarming account of the negro conspiracy there, and the wholesale massacres of blacks perpetrated in consequence, which shock the writer, not on account of the butchery in cold blood of between 700 and 800 negroes, but on account of the great loss sustained thereby by the proprietors, each slave costing between 400 and 500 dollars, and the owners obtaining no compensation from the state. The letter says—"After an extensive conspiracy had been discovered, and when it was thought there would be no farther consequences, we heard casually, through a female slave, of a plot more horrible than any which had been hitherto invented. The revolution was to commence in all the chief towns of the island on Holy Thursday, after the procession in the evening. The negroes of all the estates were to come down and unite themselves with those of the chief towns, to assassinate all the white men and female negroes, retaining the white women for their wives. This conspiracy has existed for these five years, according to the declaration of the heads of it, who are in prison. Mr. Turnbull, the famous English consul of unhappy memory, promoted it,* according to report; and there are many revolutionary negroes of St. Domingo comprehended in it, who came to this island expressly for that purpose. They have taken up the one who was to be their king (a mulatto), and found on him his portrait with a crown and mantle. In spite of the arrests, the conspiracy broke out at two distinct points, but it was suppressed at once. The number of prisoners is 2,000, and the arrests still continue: 500 negroes and mulattoes will very shortly be shot at Matanzas, and 260 of those most compromised in this place. Figure to yourself the terror which this affair will have caused, on seeing that two barrels of arsenic, designed to poison the troops, have been taken, and it is said that the cooks (all blacks unfortunately) are gained over for the purpose of poisoning the whites; add to this the loss which the capitalists of the island will suffer from these indispensable chastisements, since each negro is worth 450 to 500 dollars, and no compensation is given for these losses: all these things together deprive us of pleasure and sadden our minds."

From the *Jamaica Royal Gazette*.

CUBA.—The R. M. steamer *Medway* arrived from Havana on the evening of Saturday last. By her we have received accounts confirmatory of the late insurrection there, which is said to have originated with the mulattoes. About 1200 Englishmen were confined in the prisons at Havana and Matanzas. A black man had been flogged to death, and made to confess that an English engineer had given him letters to carry about relative to this insurrection, which was to have taken place on Good Friday, and that the bakers were to poison all the bread to be provided for the soldiers. An Irishman attached to an American vessel of war lying in the harbour, and under the protection of American colours, had been shot in a most unwarrantable manner. He was proceeding towards the shore in a boat, and on arriving at the government steps, he was ordered by the sentinel to shove off from the steps.

* Our readers will know what value to attach to this statement, from a Cuban letter writer.

The man got into his boat, and was moving off, when the sergeant of the guard caught hold of the oar, and beat the Irishman with the flat of his sword, who, in endeavouring to take away the oar from the sergeant, pulled him overboard; the moment the sergeant rose, he ordered the sentry to fire, which he did, and shot the man dead, and wounded his companion in the nose. The commander of the vessel immediately demanded from the Captain-General, O'Donnell, reparation and satisfaction for this outrage, but the answer of O'Donnell was, "The sentry did his duty, and you do yours." Upon this, the American commander took the dead body on board his vessel, and set sail for the United States. The result is not yet ascertained. All the vessels in the harbour at the time hoisted their flags half-mast high for three days, with the exception of the French fleet of merchantmen, who were ordered to haul down their flags by their superior naval officer. This display of grief on the part of the vessels and crews at the murder committed, annoyed the Captain-General excessively. All foreigners, free, black, or coloured, are ordered away within fifteen days, on penalty of being sent to the Isle of Pines. This order will expire on Sunday next. Several coloured persons have come passengers in the steamer, in pursuance of the order; leaving their wives, who, it appears, are not included in the *ukase*. There are from two to three hundred now waiting a conveyance at Havana to come here. Eight hundred and fifty slaves were landed in Havana during the last month, and the slave-trade is carried on more briskly than ever. The British consul, Mr. Crawford, wrote to the Captain-General relative to this large importation of slaves. The letters were inclosed back to Mr. Crawford, with the gratuitous advice "that he must attend to his own business, and he (the Captain-General) would attend to his."

The Spanish merchants also waited on the Captain-General concerning the matter, and the reply was,—"Gentlemen, govern your wives and children—I govern the island of Cuba, and you."

From the *Jamaica Times*.

CUBA.—The Captain-General is represented as a functionary little disposed to trifle away his time or interests in words. For instance, the Mixed Commission possess a vessel in which slave-trading cases are adjudicated; she required repairs, and application was made to O'Donnell, who is himself one of the Commissioners, in order to obtain them. "Gentlemen," says he, "I'll have nothing to do with the affair, the money shall not come from my coffers." Mr. Crawford, the British consul, officially addresses him upon the shameful manner in which the slave-trade is encouraged. The Captain-General returns the papers unopened, observing, "I'll have no communication with you." A deputation of persons interested in those lately imprisoned wait upon him, "Gentlemen," remarks O'Donnell, "return and govern your wives and children, I will take care to govern Cuba—and you!" An American is shot by a sentry, and a demand for redress is unnoticed. The English and American vessels half hoist their colours, and the French entirely lower theirs. The Captain-General is indignant at this display of feeling, but adds, "the American standing army consists of 6,000 men; I am prepared with an orderly, well-equipped, and an efficient force, at this port, of 14,000 men;" and defies them! Within the space of four weeks, we are told, no fewer than 1,100 slaves had been introduced into Havana; the head-money for permission to land being 24 dollars, giving the total sum of 826,400 dollars, which is the perquisite of the Captain-General, who seems to have no idea of allowing any interference, either by the English, French, American, or any other people, on the ground that he has a right to govern Cuba and the Cubans in his own way, and that he has the power to deal with strangers meddling with or obstructing his administration as he may consider they deserve.

The Court of Madrid, it is said, has expostulated with the Captain-General on his open encouragement of the slave-trade, stating that, if he should not adhere to the treaty to suppress it, the British Government would take the affair into their own hands. Whether O'Donnell will notice this remonstrance is considered very problematical; the idea abroad rather being that the trade will shortly enable him to care little or nothing about holding the Government, and that he must be already able to retire from business.

The slave-traders, we are further told, are positively in convulsions at the mode which the English authorities propose for the abolition of the traffic. The chances in favour of the traders are as eight out of nine; that is, the capture of eight vessels out of nine puts the dealer only where he originally was, without loss or gain. We would just then ask, how ten steam vessels can guard a line of coast of 700 miles against the arrival and departure of ninety slavers, say once every two months in the year, that is 540 vessels in the year?

We are also told, that the fortifications at Havana have been put in perfect repair, the troops in excellent discipline and well appointed; that there are 14,000 at that place, and altogether 30,000 in the island; and that the Captain-General has them so completely under control that he dispenses altogether with trial by jury, and exercises a very summary jurisdiction.

The general opinion is, that when the present accounts reach Great Britain, an application will be made to the Court of Madrid for the recall of O'Donnell; but that even that will not better the case, for that the same game will be played over again; and the appointments, and the recalls, and the slave-trade, continue *ad libitum*.

Such, we say, are the views and opinions of the Cubans in these matters: so let the Government and people of England look to it.

DANISH SUGAR AND THE SUGAR DUTIES BILL.

WE give in *extenso* the following important matter, from the proceedings in the House of Commons on the 20th instant.

Mr. BARING wished to put a question to the right hon. gentleman opposite on the subject of Danish sugar, and the bearing of the treaties we had concluded with Denmark. The amount produced in the Danish colonies had been stated at 13,000 tons: it was, however, not a question as to the amount, but as to the good faith of the country, and the engage-

ments into which we had entered. When the budget was under discussion, he had stated that he considered the sugars of Denmark were entitled to come into the country, if the sugars of any other country were introduced. The right hon. gentleman opposite contradicted him, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in subsequently enumerating the countries whose produce we should be bound to admit at a lower rate of duty, omitted Denmark. Now he was anxious for an explanation of the grounds on which the right hon. gentleman was of opinion that Denmark was not entitled to that admission. The commercial relations between Great Britain and Denmark were regulated by the treaties of 1661 and 1670, and in more modern times by that of 1824. The eighth article of the treaty of 1670, after stating the obligations of Denmark towards England, went on to stipulate that the subjects of the King of Denmark should have, in all respects, the same privileges as the subjects of the king of England; that subjects of Denmark trading in the ports of Great Britain should not pay any more or greater customs, tributes, tolls, or other dues, in any other manner than the people of the United Netherlands, or any other countries trading hither shall pay. In the 40th section this stipulation was even extended, for it was said, that if greater privileges or exceptions were granted to the subjects of any other countries than were now enjoyed by them, the same and like privileges should be granted to the subjects of the king of Denmark also, in the most full and effectual manner. On consulting with persons in that house, whose names would be of weight within its walls, they concurred with him in opinion, that according to the words of this treaty they could not understand how government could place on it a construction which should refuse to the sugars of Denmark the same privileges which were granted to the Hollanders, or the natives of any other country placed on a favoured footing. The words he had read were rather different from those of the "favoured nations" clause in modern treaties; but according to the legislation of that time the clause was quite effectual for conferring on Denmark the advantages of the most favoured nation. The Danes might justly consider it as a grievance of the most serious kind, if we admitted the sugar of Holland at 34s., and charged that of Denmark at 63s. It might be said that we did not make this difference from any wish to show preference to Holland as a nation, but because the sugar of the Dutch colonies was free grown, and we might set up some distinction which would not bear examination to support this. But what did we propose with regard to the sugar of America and Sweden? To admit them at a lower rate of duty, whether they were free labour or not. With what reason or justice could we grant to America or Sweden a clause which we denied to the Danes (hear, hear)? How was it possible to reconcile this conduct with the treaty into which we had entered with Denmark? If the bill was founded on the consideration of discouraging slavery rather than of promoting commerce, Denmark had peculiar claims on this ground. Denmark was the country which first abolished the slave-trade, the ordinance for which was issued in 1792. If ministers were really anxious to discountenance slavery, he did not think there was any country which had so great a claim on this account as Denmark. (Hear, hear.) Although that country had not yet abolished slavery, it had made arrangements for ultimate abolition in its colonies. The right hon. baronet had declared that if the Brazilian government were prepared to modify the state of slavery with a view to its ultimate abolition, he would be ready to enter into a negotiation with that power, with the view of admitting Brazilian sugar. (Hear, hear.) Now Denmark had clearly done that which the right hon. baronet had required Brazil to do, what he had made a *sine qua non* with that country, but in a manner more satisfactory and secure to us, because it had done it of its own will; it had not been compelled, nor had it acted in the hope of a bargain. (Hear, hear.) We might be perfectly satisfied therefore that it was honest, and that having made ameliorations in the condition of slavery, it would perform what it had undertaken, by the entire abolition.

Mr. GLADSTONE said the right honourable gentleman had stated very strongly, and with considerable truth as well as force, the claim which Denmark ought to have on the favourable consideration of the British Parliament in measures which have relation to a disposition to discourage slavery, and consequently to favour those nations which show satisfactory intentions in that respect. He concurred with the right honourable gentleman in much that he had said, and he was very glad to take an opportunity of acknowledging his belief that the government of Denmark was honest in their intentions of abolishing slavery in the island of St. Croix. With respect to the dry question of right, the first thing he had to observe was this, that so far as the treaty was concerned, if it should appear on a more solemn and formal consideration of it by the most competent persons that Denmark was entitled to have its sugar admitted at a low duty, the bill empowered her Majesty to give effect to the obligations of the treaty. No decision ought to be pronounced till it had been referred to the highest legal authorities; and the right honourable gentleman would therefore excuse him if he did not speak with entire confidence. He confessed it was quite new to him when the right honourable gentleman opposite stated the right of Denmark on this subject. He believed that the impression of both the Governments was—and he remembered that the Danish ministers had held this language to himself, without any reserve or doubt not very long ago—that their obligations to one another for the concession of particular privileges were determined, not by that ancient treaty to which the right honourable gentleman had referred, but by the treaty concluded by Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson in 1824. That treaty was one of commerce as well as of navigation, and it provided that all goods and merchandise from Denmark, coming into our ports, should be admitted at the same rate of duty whether in one class of vessels or the other. He was not prepared to say that the word subjects in the former treaty could be construed as extending to colonies. According to the treaty of 1824 it was not incumbent on either party to extend, unconditionally, concessions to each other other, concessions which might have been made to subjects of other countries.

Viscount PALMERSTON contended that the treaties were in full force, and thought that the Government could not refuse to Denmark the concession sought by his right honourable friend.

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NOTICES.

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All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have to apologize for our list of contributions, which appears to-day, having been crowded out of our last number.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 26, 1844.

In the course of the lengthened discussions to which the Sugar Duties Bill has given rise, there has arisen an episode of no inconsiderable importance, to which we feel it a duty to call the attention of our readers. Mr. F. Baring, an authority of much weight as having been Chancellor of the Exchequer under the late administration, brought under the notice of the House of Commons, on the 20th instant, the commercial relations of this country with Denmark, and stated his opinion—in which he was supported by Lord Palmerston, as an ex-minister another high authority on such a matter—that, if the bill should pass into a law, the Danish government would be entitled to demand the admission of Danish sugar at the reduced rate of duty. The serious part of this would be that Danish sugar is wholly raised by slave labour, while the declared intention of the bill is to open the British market exclusively to sugar free grown. That a result so contrary to their declared meaning is intended by the Government can scarcely be supposed; and should it ensue without intention, both the legislature, and the Government, and the whole country, would be egregiously stultified. Mr. Gladstone, in his reply to Mr. Baring, did not feel himself justified in speaking positively on the subject. He said that the point was new to the Government, that the law officers of the Crown should be consulted, and that their opinion should be given on the bringing up of the report on the bill; adding—what, in our minds, is very ominous—that, if Denmark should be put in a position to make this demand, there would be something in the bill to enable her Majesty to comply with it. We hear this with much anxiety and alarm. There ought to be no danger of any such result, and ministers ought to have seen that there was none before they involved themselves in so strenuous a conflict as they have encountered for this bill. We trust that they will yet look this matter fairly in the face, and not, by an act of inadvertency, or (which we are unwilling to suspect) by an act of duplicity, create an opening for the introduction of slave-grown sugars, while professing only to admit the free. For our own part, we are free to confess that we would rather the bill should not pass, highly as we appreciate the principle of it, than that it should thus outrage all consistency on the one hand, and frustrate our cherished hopes on the other. If, although the treaty with Brazil expires, other treaties continue to present impediments to the kind of legislation we desire, it would be better on all accounts to wait until the object we wish to attain can be really and effectually secured.

The operation of the bill in this respect requires to be watched with the greater jealousy, because it is known that several influential parties in this country are interested in sugar plantations in the Danish West Indies; a remark which would equally apply to the Dutch colony of Surinam, should a similar question arise concerning it.

The Sugar question has, since the date of our last number, given rise to lengthened debates in the House of Commons; and we have felt it our duty to give such an abstract of the proceedings as may present to our readers, and put on record in our columns, the sub-

stance of all that relates to slavery and the slave-trade. Briefly the case stands thus.

The amendments of Lord John Russell and Mr. Ewart having been disposed of, and the proposition of the Government so far affirmed, the amendment announced by Mr. Philip Miles came on for consideration on Friday, the 14th instant. As brought before the House, it stood in comparison with the ministerial measure as follows:—Ministers proposed to leave the duty on British sugar at 24s. per cwt., and to admit foreign sugar free grown at 34s. per cwt. Mr. Miles proposed a duty on British sugars of 20s. per cwt., and on foreign free grown sugars two rates of duty—on Muscovado and brown clayed, 30s., and on white clayed or its equivalent, 34s. per cwt. After a long debate, this amendment was carried against the Government by a majority of 20. On Monday, the 17th, the discussion was resumed, much interest being felt as to the course which ministers might pursue, in a crisis which obviously affected their stability in office. Sir Robert Peel opened the debate on this occasion, with a declaration that the Government felt it their duty to persevere in the course they had adopted, and that they would look upon another adverse decision of the House, not so much as determining the particular measure in question, as expressing a want of confidence. In the issue, the vote of Friday was reversed by a majority of 22. The principle of the ministerial measure was thus finally affirmed; and, the details having subsequently been under consideration in Committee, the bill is to be read a third time to-morrow.

In expressing our own opinion of Mr. Miles's amendment, it is necessary for us to distinguish the two parts of which it obviously consists. If it had been merely a proposition for admitting British sugar at 20s., and foreign free grown sugar at 30s., instead of the respective sums of 24s. and 34s. proposed by the Government, we should have hailed it as a further encouragement of the system of free labour. But this simple view of it cannot be taken. Proposing a duty of 34s. on foreign white clayed sugar or its equivalent, Mr. Miles introduces a new and very important element into the case. First, because (whatever the proportion of white clayed may be among foreign free-grown sugars) a distinction is thus introduced among foreign sugars which is not made between British sugars, but which, if it is really founded in justice, ought equally to affect both. And, secondly, because a very large proportion of foreign sugar is white clayed, or in a state of refinement equivalent to it. Mr. Miles's proposition, consequently, would have effected a large diminution of the benefit intended by the ministerial plan, and would have established upon a very large portion of foreign free grown sugar a discriminating duty, not of 10s., but of 14s. per cwt. We are unequivocally glad, therefore, that it was not carried, the measure of the Government being adapted, in our opinion, far more powerfully to encourage the culture of sugar by free labour.

The complex character of Mr. Miles's amendment seems not a little to have embarrassed our friends the free traders. That its author carefully framed it in a manner plausibly favourable to free trade in order to allure the advocates of that system can scarcely be doubted, and in part he accomplished his object. At the eleventh hour, however, the eyes of some of these gentlemen began to be opened, and in the debate of Friday Mr. Milner Gibson denounced Mr. Miles's proposition as "a snare for free traders," a scheme for inducing them, under an appearance of encouraging free trade, to vote for further protection to the West Indians. A pretty pickle our crack anti-monopolists would have been in, if they had been caught in this trap! For the most part, however, they had discernment enough to keep out of it, and to vote—*mirabile dictu!*—with the Government and the Tories. The ministerial majority being so narrow, it has thus happened that the votes of the free traders have actually kept the alleged supporters of monopoly in office, and that Sir Robert Peel owes his tenure of the government to Mr. Cobden. We find no fault with this. We only hope that the gentlemen of the League will please to recollect the time when they charged it as a great crime on the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society that they turned out the Whigs, and their still more recent effort to convince the Committee that they must be wrong because they were "in such bad company." Our counsellors will now learn at what amount to estimate the force of their own reasoning, and know what it is to be scalded with those ebullitions of popular frenzy which they have been making so hot for others. We think them right, and are satisfied that Mr. Cobden gave a sufficient answer to all the clamour, when he exclaimed at Covent-garden theatre, to that pet auditory from which he would have anti-slavery men learn abolitionism, but to which he knows he must teach free trade, "I never did give a party vote, and I hope I never shall." But, if this answer is sufficient for him and his friends, we submit that it is sufficient also for the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

When the Sugar Duties Bill was in Committee, a motion was made by Mr. Irvine, that foreign countries should be allowed to export sugar to Great Britain only if they imported none for their own consumption. This motion was negatived without a division, and met, we think, with a far less favourable consideration than it deserved. The principle involved in it was strictly applied to our own East India possessions when the duties on East and West India sugar were equalized, and to this moment it is only those parts of the East which are prohibited from importing sugar that are allowed to export it to this country. A similar regulation would have had a salutary and important bearing on the circumstances arising out of the change now pending. What we want is not that a foreign

country producing sugar by free labour should send us its *whole* growth, and supply its own consumption from the labour of slaves; we want only what is fairly exportable beyond the demand of the producing region itself.

In our last number we stated, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had determined to put themselves in communication with the Government respecting the scandalous ordinances brought by the last mail from British Guiana. In our present number we publish the memorial which was forwarded to the noble Colonial Secretary, with his lordship's characteristic reply. The favourable augury which may, perhaps, be drawn from Lord Stanley's not thinking it necessary to trouble the Committee to wait upon him, is somewhat confirmed by the tenor of his reply to Mr. Hawes, who put a question to him on the subject in the House of Commons on Friday night. He then admitted that the ordinances had been passed in a hurried manner, and stated that further time should be given for an expression of opinion on the part of the colonists. We hope the arrivals by the last mail will settle this question. We have seen a copy of one very earnest appeal to the noble lord on the subject.

We have thought it proper to place on record in our pages the plan brought forward by the French government for preparing the solution of the great question of emancipation in the French colonies. We have on a former occasion expressed our extreme dissatisfaction with it; a sentiment which its renewed perusal renders only the more intense.

We have received with much pleasure the first two numbers of the *Abolitioniste Francais*, a monthly journal, and the organ of the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery. The articles contained in these numbers are of excellent quality and temper, and well fitted to diffuse information on the important subject of slavery in the French colonies through the public of the mother country. We sincerely congratulate our fellow-labourers across the Channel on their having taken up so powerful an instrument, and we trust they will be favoured to see the rapid kindling of a sentiment out of doors, by which the proceedings of the Government will be effectually quickened, and the great work of emancipation irresistibly urged forward.

We are not yet informed of the actual decision of the Senate of the United States in relation to the treaty for the annexation of Texas. The subject continued to be discussed with closed doors, and with repeated communications with the President. It is still confidently expected that the treaty will be rejected by a large majority. France and England are said to be acting in full concert in opposition to it.

We direct the attention of our readers to a communication from Mr. Murray, of Glasgow, pressing upon the consideration of abolitionists a scheme for admitting into the British market the sugar of such estates in Cuba and Brazil as will employ free labour. To his request that the merits of the plan may be argued, we reply with pleasure that our pages are open to the discussion of it, and we hope some of our correspondents will take up the subject. No one who knows Mr. Murray can doubt his ardent devotedness to the cause of human freedom, or his competency, as a man of practical knowledge, or suggest measures adapted to promote the great end which abolitionists have in view.

In his recent letter to the editor of the *League*, Mr. Abdy has done an act of injustice to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, of which, we think, they have some reason to complain. "These good people," says he, "war against slaveholding with the money of slave-holders. The slave-worked mine sharer's contribution to their funds proclaims, in their Annual Report, their utter disregard of principle." We think, on the contrary, that the entry in the Annual Report exhibits, on the part of the Committee, a careful adherence to principle. It stands thus:—"From one who purchased 20 shares in the Imperial Brazilian mines, without the knowledge of their being worked by slaves. In trust to be applied for the benefit of the slaves employed in the said mines." Now we are able to state with authority, that the sums thus received (amounting in the whole to 65*l.*) have not been expended on the general objects of the Society, but are held as a trust, in the hope that some way may appear by which they may be applied "for the benefit of the slaves employed in the said mines." Should no such way be opened, the amount will be returned to the donors.

COOLY EMIGRATION TO MAURITIUS.

From the *Friend of India*.

THE following is a correct statement of the number of labourers shipped from the three ports, from the day when the restriction ceased at the close of 1842, to the end of December last year.

	Men.	Women.	Children.
From Calcutta	15,105	2,161	644
" Madras	14,862	1,813	548
" Bombay	5,162	715	181
Men	35,129	4,689	1,373
Women	4,689		
Children	1,373		
Total	41,191		

The Madras statement is derived from the *Spectator* of the 6th of January; and that relative to Bombay, from the *Bombay Times* of the 27th of January.

The number of vessels employed in the conveyance of emigrants at the three ports has been, Calcutta, 80; Madras, 87; Bombay, 25. Total 192 vessels. If the government of the Mauritius has paid the same gratuity for female as for male passengers, the expenditure from the colonial funds has been about 280,000*l.* If we add to this sum, the agency and other charges defrayed by the planter at whose instance the coolies have been despatched, it will appear that the sum expended in the transmission of labourers to the Mauritius during the past year, has not fallen short of 400,000*l.*

Of the 30,000 labourers shipped for the island before the prohibitory law came into operation, we may assume that the casualties at the Mauritius, and the number of returned coolies, amount to 13,000, and that 17,000 are still there; it will therefore appear that, at this time, the island enjoys the benefit of 56,828 labourers, male and female, imported from India, which is a trifle above the number of slaves (56,699) emancipated by Parliament. It would be interesting to learn what has become of this large body of negroes, to what extent they are still employed in raising sugar, and what has been the agricultural result of the great accession of labour obtained from hence.

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Bowling Bay, Glasgow, 17th June, 1844.

SIR,—In your *Reporter* of the 3rd of April last you inserted a memorial from the Glasgow Emancipation Society to the Earl of Aberdeen. At that time his lordship's reply had not been received, and since then a variety of matter connected with the address of the free trade abolitionists—the reply to their address, and other letters on that subject—the sugar question—and your Annual Meeting report, has occupied much of your columns, and no farther reference has been made to that memorial than if it were simply a paper to be put on record, and not a measure proposed to be recommended to, and adopted by, the foreign slaveholding governments, Brazil, Cuba, Porto Rico, the United States of America, &c.—for the important purpose of inducing them to adopt the free labour system instead of slavery, by substituting wages, or the metaric system of remunerating labour, instead of the whip or any mode of coercion; and thus to abolish slavery and consequently the slave-trade.

Any one, especially any abolitionist, who looks seriously at the state of interests and of parties, will, I think, admit that this is not a time to stand still; for, if the anti-slavery body will stand still, so will not other interests and parties. Therefore it becomes necessary to reflect and deliberate what is to be done by the anti-slavery body of this kingdom to promote and accelerate the downfall of slavery and the slave-trade; for surely something more may and ought to be done than simply to fold our arms, and wait till the river run past. 'Tis true we cannot interfere with foreign states, and pass laws to abolish their slavery and slave-trade; but we may remonstrate with them, and we may so frame our commercial regulations upon moral principles as to encourage free labour, and discourage or exclude slave labour, by holding out to them the inducement of admitting their sugar and other free labour produce on equal terms with British free labour produce.

On reading the Explanatory Statement laid before the Special Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on the 3rd inst., showing the course pursued by the Committee relative to fiscal regulations in favour of free labour, the appropriateness of such a measure as that proposed in the memorial, to follow out their other measures, frequently struck my mind forcibly, perhaps more so from its having been much the subject of my reflections. Every one, of course, may not have the same opinion of it as I have; but I have already—some months ago, as may be seen by the accompanying letter, which I hope you will insert along with this, and also the reply of Lord Aberdeen—invited an impartial examination of its defects, that they may be pointed out and remedied, or some better scheme adopted, for idleness will not do anything for the cause. Let us be up and doing and devising, so as to promote the great end we all have in view. And, if we cannot legislate for foreigners, let us endeavour to enlist in the promotion of the object we have so much at heart the same motives by which they are now warring against us. Let us show them that it is their interest "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly."

I am, Sir, yours truly,

JOHN MURRAY.

The following is the reply of Lord Canning, in the name of the Earl of Aberdeen, to the second memorial of the Glasgow Emancipation Society:—

"Foreign Office, April 11, 1844.

"Sir,—I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 18th and 25th ultimo, respecting a plan for admitting into the United Kingdom, on the same terms as sugar produced in British colonies, sugar produced in Cuba and Brazil by free labour.

"I am to return you his lordship's thanks for these communications, and to inform you that copies of them, and the memorial inclosed in the latter of them, have been laid before the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

"To John Murray, Esq.

"CANNING."

We have not room for the whole of the memorial, but we insert the principal portion of it.

"Your memorialists would, therefore, humbly, but strongly and earnestly, recommend to your lordship, and to the other members of her Majesty's Government, to examine and adopt this principle, and to urge it upon these foreign powers, unless it is found to be objectionable.

"It is simply that those Brazilian or Cuban planters—whether they amount to five, twenty, fifty, one hundred, or more, who are desirous that their sugars, &c., shall be admitted into the British market on the same terms as British free-labour sugar—will notify to the British govern-

ment that such is their wish, and also the names of their plantations, their extent, with the number and description of the slaves on each, and their sugars will be admitted forthwith, provided they agree to cultivate their plantations and raise their sugars by free labour—that is, by wages, and not by the whip, or any other coercive system. And, in order that satisfactory proof may be obtained that their sugars, &c., are raised by free labour, as the British sugars are, there shall be British officials appointed and permitted to reside on each plantation as inspectors, to see that these plantations are so cultivated. And it shall be the duty of these inspectors so to brand the sugar casks or packages, and otherwise so to certify that these sugars, the produce of these plantations, were cultivated by free labour, as above described.

"Thus, by offering these terms, a test is also established, by which it may be discovered whether the Brazilian and Cuban planters are or are not firmly attached to slavery, and, of course, whether or not they are persons in whose favour the British people would be justified to relax their principles, so as to admit their slave-grown produce, as is proposed by a certain party, in the hope that they may afterwards abandon slavery and the slave-trade.

"Were five, ten, or twenty planters, in a circuit of fifty, a hundred, or two hundred miles, to agree to these terms, the system of free labour will soon extend, for, from its own nature, it cannot safely retrograde, until, in a very short time, it will include all within reach of the infection; and the privileged terms operating as a bonus, slavery will be quietly and almost imperceptibly abolished, and, as a consequence, the slave-trade. The sugars of Brazil and Cuba may thus be gradually introduced into the British market, on the same terms as British sugars; until, by adopting the wages system, the planters of these countries become entitled to this privilege, and slavery and the slave-trade thereby become extinct. At the same time, the British people will be enjoying cheaper sugar, in a ratio increasing according to the quantity thus admitted, as free labour increases, until all be admitted, and at the trifling expense to the British, of keeping inspectors in these places for a few years on the plantations, where the terms are agreed to and complied with.

"It may also be expected, that in proportion as this system of free labour extends, so will the demand for slaves be diminished, and the amount expended on armed preventive squadrons, &c., &c., may be proportionably lessened.

"There seems no reason to doubt that, if from the insecurity of life and property connected with the slave system, or from any other cause, only a few were induced to try this scheme, the number would rapidly increase; and if only in a few years they came to amount to one-third, or even one-fourth of the planters, that the rest would have to fall into it almost at once, for the slaves still retained in slavery will naturally be clamorous to be put on the same footing with those receiving wages. The same system may also be proposed to the cotton planters of America.

"This measure, it appears to us, may be submitted to the respective governments, or to the planters in each place, without any reference to their governments; or to planters and governments simultaneously, as to your lordships may appear proper."

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—TUESDAY, JUNE 19.

CUBA SLAVE-TRADE.

Lord WHARNCLIFFE moved the third reading of the Slave-trade Treaties Bill.

The Earl of MINTO would take that opportunity to draw the attention of their lordships to the present state of the slave-trade in Cuba, and to the inefficient manner in which the treaties for the suppression of that trade had been executed by Spain. During the regency of Espartero the Spanish government took every possible means to put an end to the slave-trade in Cuba. But he understood that, since the change in the Spanish government, the slave-trade had been revived to a very great extent; and the same fees had been established, for the benefit of the governor of Cuba, on the importation of slaves, as had formerly existed. He believed that all the representations made on the subject by the British government had been treated in the most unbecoming manner. He hoped the noble earl would be able to declare that those statements had been exaggerated, or, at all events, that her Majesty's government had done all in their power to enforce the observance of the treaty.

The Earl of ABERDEEN said it was unfortunately too true that a great increase had taken place in the slave-trade at Cuba; and he was sorry to say that there was little or no exaggeration in the statement of the noble earl. At an early period of the last session he had expressed a very sanguine hope that the slave-trade would speedily cease in the island of Cuba, owing to the great exertions of the governor-general Valdez, who then ruled there. But he must say that General Valdez had gone far beyond the intentions expressed and the instructions given by his own government, in carrying the treaty into effect; for he believed, had the governor of Cuba depended on the government of Madrid, that very little would have been done to check the slave-trade. Before his recall he had done everything in his power to carry the treaty with this country into effect. By his strenuous exertions the importation of slaves, which had been carried on to the enormous extent of 40,000 annually, was diminished to 3,000; and he was very sorry to own, that in the first month of the present year, as many slaves were imported as had been imported during the whole of the last year of the government of General Valdez. He believed the noble earl was quite right in attributing this increase of the slave-trade to the change of system in the government of Madrid. He need not say that nothing would be wanting on the part of her Majesty's government to prevent the continuance of this trade. He would, however, rather not at present enter into any particulars as to the steps that had been taken for that purpose; but he could not but hope that they would be attended with success. The noble earl must be aware that all these treaties touching the slave-trade had been but imperfectly executed by foreign powers. The noble earl had only mentioned the case of Spain; but there was no doubt that the same observation might be made with respect to Brazil; for he was completely certain that, from

one end of that empire to the other, the provisions of those treaties were set at naught. He hoped, however, that, before long, improvement in this respect would be effected, both in Brazil and Cuba; and, undoubtedly, her Majesty's ministers would not relax their endeavours to cause those treaties to be respected.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—TUESDAY, JUNE 11.

REFUSAL TO ALLOW THE LANDING OF DISEASED SLAVES AT ST. HELENA.

Dr. BOWRING wished to put a question to the noble lord the Secretary for the Colonies, as to the circumstances connected with the refusal of the Governor of St. Helena to allow the captain of her Majesty's ship Arrow either to deposit in quarantine or to land diseased slaves on that island, and compelling their removal to the Cape. In order to make the question clearly understood, perhaps the house would allow him to read a statement which had been put into his hands on this melancholy subject. It appeared that the Arrow recently arrived at St. Helena with two prizes, both containing captured Africans, in which the dysentery had broken out. The captain on his arrival immediately separated the healthy from the diseased, placing the latter in one of the prizes and the former in the other, and applied for permission to place the vessels in quarantine prior to landing. He was informed that the Africans could not be landed; that it would be entirely lost time to go into quarantine, and that he must proceed with them to the Cape. The captain replied that only one of the prizes was seaworthy, the other having been seriously damaged prior to her capture; that he had managed to keep her afloat until her arrival at St. Helena, but that it would be utter madness to attempt to take her to the Cape; he therefore trusted the authorities would allow one vessel to ride quarantine with the diseased Africans, whilst the healthy ones proceeded in the other prize to the Cape. This, however, was refused, and the captain was obliged to put the sick and the healthy on board one transport altogether. They had previously been very closely stowed, but when two cargoes were compressed into one, the result might easily be conjectured. The track of the prize from St. Helena to the Cape was literally strewn with corpses, and not one half the Africans who had left the inhospitable shore of St. Helena would arrive at the Cape. If the noble lord had received any information, no doubt he would be glad to communicate it to the house.

Lord STANLEY was sorry to inform the hon. gentleman and the house, that to a certain extent his information was well founded, and that there had been a considerable mortality on board these vessels. That mortality, however, had not been so great as the hon. gentleman imagined; inasmuch as of 337, the number which arrived at St. Helena, 18 only died on the passage, and 22 after their arrival at the Cape. He would state the instructions which had been sent out. In 1839, the general instruction was that all diseased ships should be carried to the nearest port, and in consequence of this instruction a considerable number of vessels were brought to St. Helena. In that island, however, there were no means of employing the negroes, the expense of maintaining them was greater than on any point of the African coast, and complaints were made on the subject. In consequence of that instructions were sent out to our cruisers to avoid St. Helena, and to take their cargoes either to the West India islands, if the wind should be favourable, or to Sierra Leone, or the Cape of Good Hope. In November, 1843, the Arrow arrived at St. Helena with two slaves, and on the officer in command being asked why he had brought the prizes to that port, he said that he had instructions from his superior officer to proceed with them to St. Helena, not for the purpose of landing the negroes, but in order to procure water, after which he was to proceed to the Cape. The governor had reported the matter to him, and he thought a wise discretion had been observed on the subject, and every assistance in the shape of water, medicines, and provisions had been supplied to the vessels. He might state, however, that in cases of emergency it was competent for the officer to demand that the negroes should be permitted to land, but in ordinary cases the general instructions compelled him to take the vessels either to the Cape or to Sierra Leone, where accommodation and employment could be provided for the negroes.

Dr. BOWRING hoped some ports would be established for those cases of emergency.

Lord PALMERSTON wished to know from the noble lord whether the officer in command of the capturing cruiser did or did not represent to the officer in command at St. Helena, that the health of the negroes was such that they required to be landed?

Lord STANLEY said that he understood that the officer in command stated to the governor, that he had called at St. Helena for water, and that he then meant to proceed to the Cape.

FRIDAY, JUNE 14.

THE SUGAR-DUTIES.

The house having resolved itself into a committee on the Sugar Duties Bill,

Mr. P. MILLS rose. He objected to the change proposed by ministers in the old amount of protection, as a measure which was not expedient in itself, and which had not even the merit of being a final settlement. An extensive and systematic immigration had been promised, but not effected, and the West Indian colonist would be ruined by the abolition of protection before the completion of the immigration promises could arrive. He concluded by moving, that from the 10th of November next the duty on British colonial sugar should be 20s.; on the sugars of China, Java, and Manilla, 30s., with a duty of 34s. upon the foreign sugars, when imported at a certain degree of refinement; and with an addition, as usual, of five per cent. upon the whole.

Mr. H. BAILLIE seconded the motion. He described the measure of the government as causing general dissatisfaction. It violated the principle of refusing encouragement to the foreign slave-trade, and yet it gave but very partial advantages to the British people. He insisted on the danger that American sugar would be largely imported from New Orleans, the amount so shipped to England being made good to the American consumer by an equal supply from the slave plantations of Cuba and Brazil, from whose long line of coast our utmost efforts to keep off

slave-traders would continue to be, as they always had been, utterly unavailing, with all our treaties and all our squadrons.

Mr. EWART was adverse to the general principle of protection.

Mr. GOULBURN said that the amendment, going as it did to the question of degree, and not to that of principle, was open to the very same objections which the mover and seconder had advanced against the government scale of duties. He regretted that his attempt to combine the welfare of the consumers with the just protection of the planters had not been more favourably received by some of his own friends; but he had acted on a sense of duty, and he sincerely believed that the moderate scale he had proposed was more for the ultimate advantage of the planters themselves than the scale suggested in this amendment.

Mr. LABOUCHERE should support Mr. Miles's amendment, because it involved a reduction of duty, though not precisely in the figures he should most have approved. The vote upon this motion must be merely a comparative one, between the merits of the amendment and the merits of the government plan; and as between the two, he preferred the amendment: for the government plan, as resting upon certificates of origin, was a practical absurdity.

Mr. GODSON did not agree to this amendment, because he hoped that a much larger reduction than was offered by it would be effected next year; and he did not deem it prudent to record an acknowledgment on the part of the West Indians that a differential duty of 10s. was sufficient.

Mr. BERNAL thought it idle to hope for more than a 10s. protection; and he did not think he gave any pledge at all by voting for this amendment. He described the process of claying sugar, and explained the advantage gained by the importation of it in that stage of refinement.

Mr. BOUVIER said that on this occasion he should vote with the ministers. A differential duty was a bonus, and he saw no reason here for making the bonus larger, especially when protection had answered so ill as to produce incessant complaints of distress from those who received it.

Mr. BARING said, if this amendment went only to give an increase of protection to the planter he would not support it; but he believed it beneficial, not to the planter alone, but to the consumer.

Mr. GLADSTONE said the government were blamed for opening this question without closing it. But they were closing it as far as that was possible; they were stating 10s. as their estimate of the just protection to the West Indians in future years as well as in this. Among other objections to the amendment, he insisted on this, that while the principle of classification, in reference to the degree of refinement, was therein applied to foreign sugars, it was not applied to British.

Mr. M. GIBSON had originally been disposed toward the amendment; but, seeing the clause contained in it about the refined sugar, he had made inquiries which led him to the belief that this was a trap for the free-traders, and that the 34s. would exclude three-fourths of all the foreign sugars; thus transferring a difference of 4s. into the pockets of the West Indians, without the smallest benefit to the consumers. If it was right to place a higher duty on refined sugars from abroad, it would have been right to make the same distinction respecting refined sugars from the British colonies. On the whole, therefore, believing the government proposal to be, of the two, the more favourable to free trade, he should vote against the amendment, unless the 34s. distinction were omitted; but if Mr. Miles would omit that, he would vote with him.

Mr. HUME desired Mr. Gibson to observe that the reduction of duty on sugars in general, proposed in the amendment, would much more than compensate the extra 4s. on the refined sugar.

Mr. COLQUHOUN briefly supported the amendment.

Mr. ESCOTT asked Mr. Miles whether he thought this amendment would be a cure for the distress which the West Indians were described as suffering?

Dr. BOWRING begged to know what Mr. Miles meant to do respecting Mr. Gibson's suggestion of withdrawing the distinction of the 34s.?

Mr. HAMPDEN said he was led to support this amendment by the instinct of self-preservation.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said he did not think Mr. Miles gained much by that part of his plan which imposed the 34s. on the more refined sugars; but, on the whole, his plan was the better of the two for the consumer.

Mr. H. BERKELEY asked whether Mr. Miles would drop the clause respecting the 34s.?

Mr. MILLS, after noticing some other points of the debate, declined to make the suggested alteration in his motion.

Mr. RICARDO was understood to propose an alteration in the form of Mr. Miles's motion.

Lord HOWICK explained that all who disapproved of the government plan might join to oppose it, and that, when it should thus have been negatived, each member who had so voted would be quite unpledged respecting the motion to be substituted.

The committee then divided—

Against the government plan	241
For it	221
Majority against ministers.....	20

The committee then adjourned to Monday.

MONDAY, JUNE 17.

The House having resolved itself into committee on the sugar duties, Sir ROBERT PEEL said, We are of opinion that the ordinary considerations which determine matters of financial and commercial policy do not apply to the particular article of sugar. We find that with respect to the slave-trade this country has adopted a particular line of action, from which it may be inferred that this country considers the continuance of the slave-trade one of the greatest evils and curses by which humanity can be afflicted. We have treaties with foreign powers by which they are engaged to co-operate with us in the suppression of the slave-trade. Under ordinary circumstances we are ready to admit that the regulation not only of the internal affairs of countries, but of their commercial relations and interests generally, is within the province of the exclusive jurisdiction of each independent state. But we have engaged other powers by special treaties to co-operate with us for the suppression of the slave-trade. The

chief onus of the attempt to suppress it has fallen on this country. We have thought ourselves justified by a general regard for the interests of humanity to aim at the suppression of the slave-trade and the extinction of slavery. In our own dominions we have thought ourselves justified by considerations wholly apart from any interested motives—by considerations of general humanity, to call on this country to make a great sacrifice, not only for the suppression of the slave-trade, but for the abolition of slavery. This country voted without reluctance 20,000,000*l.* for compensation for the abolition of slavery in the British dominions. At the present day a great annual expenditure is incurred on the coast of Africa and in other parts of the world by this country for the suppression of the slave-trade, that expenditure not being intended to benefit any part of our own dominions, but being carried on for the supposed advantage of other parties, with whose domestic institutions we have no concern. In the course of the last session of Parliament we passed an act prohibiting—or at least enforcing additional penalties against—the application of British capital to enterprises carried on in foreign countries through the medium of the slave-trade. Both houses of Parliament concurred in that act, extending it to all the dominions of the Queen, and visiting with heavy penalties all those subjects of her Majesty who in Brazil or Cuba, or any other place, made use of their capital to encourage the slave-trade. We have, therefore, I conceive, by the whole tenor of our policy, given conclusive proof that we are governed with respect to the slave-trade by a different principle from that which regulates us in every other kind of commercial transactions. When her Majesty's present government were in opposition, in the year 1839, we supported those who were then in power in resisting the proposal then made by the present member for Dumfries, the effect of which, if it had met with the sanction of the house, would have been to reduce the protective duty on foreign sugar, as compared with British colonial sugar, to the amount of 12s. Whether the views we still entertain on this subject be well founded or not, at least they are consistent views,—views which we did entertain, and which we avowed and acted on when we were opposed to the right hon. gentleman. And with regard to the motion of my hon. friend, considering that it was but comparatively recently that the house, by an unanimous resolution, addressed the Crown to enforce the regulations as to slavery and the slave-trade; that the Crown has acted on that address so far as to make increased pecuniary exertion to suppress the slave-trade; and that the feeling manifested on that occasion was such as to leave no doubt that, in the opinion of the House of Commons, considerations of expense were subordinate to the great object of suppressing the slave-trade, we certainly think that the opening the British market to the sugar of Brazil and Cuba would give an increased stimulus to the slave-trade as carried on in those countries and on the coast of Africa, aggravating the *status* of slavery, and that, therefore, after such public professions, it would be inconsistent so to open our markets to that slave-grown sugar. We are not insensible to those considerations—at least we attach their due weight to them—urged by the opponents of protection, that the admission of sugar the growth of free labour would give, though not a direct, yet an indirect encouragement to a certain extent to Brazil and Cuba. That, certainly, may be the result at first; but I cannot help entertaining the opinion that, if you will encourage the protection of sugar the growth of free labour in such countries as Manilla and Java, and perhaps in China, you will by that give a permanent encouragement to the production of free-grown sugar—that, though there may in the mean time be a temporary increase of the produce of Brazil and Cuba, yet that the encouragement you will give will ultimately tend to prove that free-grown sugar can compete favourably with slave-grown sugar, and that you will thus be striking a blow, indirectly but effectually, at the slave-trade, and by those means tend to ameliorate the condition of the slaves. We, therefore, resolved not to diminish the duty on sugar the produce of our own colonies, but, the very earliest moment at which we could deal with free labour sugar, without giving any corresponding right of admission to slave-grown sugar—to permit this qualified competition. We had another reason for dealing with this question in the present year. We wished the producers of free-labour sugar to know what were the opinions and intentions of Parliament. We wished them to be assured whether Parliament intended to confine the competition to free-labour sugar, and whether Parliament would sanction government in establishing a distinction between free-labour and slave-grown sugar. It became most important to our views that early notice should be given that in China, in Manilla, in Java, the present producers of sugar, and the capitalists inclined to speculate in the increased production of sugar should know what were the intentions of the British Government, in order that at any future period there might be the means of competition with sugar the produce of our own colonies; and the desire, therefore, to take a security against increased price, and the desire that early notice should be given in the countries which were to be the competing countries with colonial sugar, induced us to resolve not to postpone beyond Nov. 9, 1844, the admission of that description of foreign sugar into our own market. After explaining the reasons why he did not content himself with merely proposing a renewal of the present sugar duties, he said that he could not be insensible to the impediments which had been opposed to the progress of ministerial legislation. In certain of these measures the government had failed to obtain the approbation of some whose support they most valued. He could not profess that they were prepared to purchase that approbation at the price of refraining from the policy which they deemed essential to the welfare of the country.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said the proposal of Sir R. Peel was neither more nor less than that the house should retract its former vote, and disgrace itself with the country.

Mr. P. MILES said, that the West Indians had repeatedly pressed the government to postpone this measure until a supply of free labour should have placed them in a better state for competition; but the government having refused to listen to them, they had no choice but to propose this measure for their own protection. In it he should persevere, and upon it he should take the sense of the house. As to the refined sugar, he should have no objection, on the part of the West Indians, to subject the colonial to the same duty as the foreign; but the East Indians objected to that; and he, therefore, could not consent to change his motion.

Mr. COCHRANE said, that when the government proposed to rescind

the vote of a former night, the question ceased to be one of sugar duties, and became one of personal honour. Therefore, though he had voted with government on Friday, he would now abstain from voting at all.

Mr. KEMBLE said, that if a reduction was to be made, it ought to be a much more substantial one than 4s. Thus, though he did not like the plan of the government, he should negative Mr. Miles's proposal.

Mr. WARBURTON meant to persist in his former vote against Mr. Miles, unless that hon. gentleman would withdraw the proposal respecting the refined sugar.

Sir H. DOUGLAS declared against Mr. Miles.

Mr. LABOUCHERE preferred Mr. Miles's plan to that of the government; and he did not understand how any free trader could do otherwise.

Mr. DISRAELI said, ministers should not lightly say to their friends, you shall submit to public disgrace, or we must submit to private life. Sir R. Peel came forward with an utter detestation of slavery in every place except upon the benches behind him.

Lord SANDON deeply regretted the vote which he should be obliged to give against the government, and the course taken by Sir R. Peel, than whom no man had rendered greater services to the country. With fair encouragement, and a fair supply of free labour, there was no reason why the West Indians should despair.

Mr. SHEIL supported the 20s. duty as cheapening the article to the consumer.

Mr. GOULBURN maintained the opposite opinion. He contended that it was necessary so to arrange matters as to prepare the free labour countries for producing the required supply.

Mr. P. STEWART argued the question in favour of the West Indians upon its commercial principles.

Mr. ENTWISLE maintained the principle of fair protection, which he had recently declared at the hustings. In that spirit he had voted against the plan of government. But in the present circumstances of the subject, he would not trust his vote with those who he was sure would be the enemies of all protection.

Mr. ESCOTT could not understand how Mr. P. Miles and his supporters could reconcile the two objects of protecting the West Indians, and at the same time increasing the supply of sugar.

Mr. MILES (Somerset) attacked Mr. Escott for the inconsistency of his present declarations with those which he had made more than once at the hustings of Somersetshire.

Lord HOWICK contended for the 20s. against the 24s. duty.

Lord NORTHLAND said he had voted against the government measure on Friday, and would not change his vote now.

Lord STANLEY defended himself and his colleagues against those who called themselves the supporters of the government. He admitted those general principles of free trade which Lord Howick had enunciated; everybody admitted them; but the whole science of a statesman lay in knowing when and how far to apply them. He entered into the merits of Mr. Miles's plan as affecting the consumer, who, he contended, must thereby inevitably pay a higher price from that time to November, without one shilling gained by the planter, and with a great loss to the revenue.

Lord PALMERSTON treated as a gross absurdity, and as quite unsustainable in practice, the distinction between free and slave-grown sugar. He admitted that, if there was a case in which an exception might be allowed from the principles of free trade, it was the case of the West Indians; and he preferred the proposal of Mr. Miles, as likely to occasion a sensible diminution in the price of sugar.

Colonel SIBTHORP energetically supported the government.

Mr. M. GIBSON maintained the opinions which he had expressed on Friday night. The measure of the government was the more liberal of the two, and should have his vote.

Mr. ROEBUCK would vote with the West Indians, in order to benefit the consumer.

The committee then divided—

Against Mr. Miles's proposal.....	255
For it	233
Majority against it.....	22

The blank was then filled up with the 24s. proposed by ministers.

THURSDAY, JUNE 20.

The House of Commons having again resolved itself into committee on the Sugar Duties Bill, a great deal of discussion arose upon the third clause, giving power to admit free labour sugar by order in Council. Questions were asked of Mr. GLADSTONE by Mr. LABOUCHERE and Mr. V. SMITH in reference to the state of labour in Java, China, the United States, and other countries on the list of free growing nations; to which Mr. GLADSTONE gave general answers, showing the difficulty of drawing any precise definitions on the subject of compulsory labour. He desired to observe, however, that in the countries which had been mentioned there was no forced labour employed upon agriculture; the only slavery was domestic; and that gave no stimulus to the slave-trade.

Lord PALMERSTON treated this distinction as an idle one; there was no other than domestic slavery in the Mahometan countries, and yet the slavery of those countries was fed by a slave-trade of the worst character.

Mr. BARING said, that as this clause gave government a power to admit, by order in Council, sugar the produce of free labour, surely the government ought to give the house some notion what they meant by free labour; or, if they could not give a precise definition, they might at least explain their notion in the way of an example or two. All that was yet known was, that in the places, particularly Java, which were treated as free-growing countries, a state of slavery did exist.

Mr. GLADSTONE again resisted the attempt at forcing him into a sort of definition, which he said could be expected only from a lawyer. He repeated that there was no field slavery in Java.

Mr. P. STEWART contended that all the sugars of Java were produced by labour which in some way or other was forced.

Sir W. JAMES wished to know whether the now proposed distinction between free and slave grown sugar was intended to be permanent.

Sir R. PEEL explained the impossibility of specifying, in the present state of foreign treaties, the course which might be taken by the British government in future years.

Lord HOWICK put some cases to show the difficulty of giving practical effect to the distinction between free and slave grown sugar.

Mr. INYING proposed, in pursuance of notice, that the privilege of bringing sugar to England at the free labour duty should be confined to those states which do not import sugar for their own consumption.

This was negatived without discussion or division.

The fourth clause, requiring certificates of origin, was next debated.

Mr. LABOUCHERE protested against the system, as being a novelty when applied to foreign sugars, and as being incapable of execution where there was an interest in deceiving.

Mr. GLADSTONE defended the arrangement for the certificates of origin, but observed that there were other checks to which this was merely supplemental. Of those checks the most efficacious would be, that the expense of taking foreign sugar to any one of the free ports for the purpose of conveyance thence to England would be too great to compensate the undertaking.

Mr. HAWES controverted Mr. GLADSTONE's reasoning: and was followed by

Lord PALMERSTON, who argued that the certificate was superfluous, if the expense itself were a prohibition.

Dr. BOWRING remarked, that Ministers were arguing as if they expected co-operation for their clause; whereas it would have to encounter opposition in all quarters. He enlarged upon the ingenuity and activity of the interests which would surely combine to defeat this enactment.

Lord SANDON thought that a consul, using due care to watch the bonding warehouses, might well ascertain the genuineness of the derivation of an article so bulky as sugar.

Mr. HUME said, he should not like to be one of these consuls in a foreign country, prying about the warehouses of the merchants to spoil their trade. The certificate of any such person was mere humbug.

Dr. BOWRING wished to know what was to be done when there was no British Consul?

Mr. GLADSTONE answered, that there was no important port from which sugar could come where a British consul was not stationed.

Mr. CHAPMAN recommended it to Ministers to give up altogether the notion of certificates from countries eastward of the Cape.

Lord PALMERSTON said, he would take the sense of the committee on the clause.

A division took place, on which the clause was sustained by a majority of 54.

Mr. BARING, after this division, raised an objection founded on an old treaty with Denmark, by which England was bound to admit the commerce of that country at as low rates of duty as the commerce of any other state. The slave possessions of Denmark, therefore, forbade you from confining your low duty to free labour countries.

Mr. GLADSTONE, arguing upon the words of that treaty, in connexion with the words of other treaties of later date, contended that there was nothing in the present bill which militated against any engagement now binding upon England.

After some further conversation the bill proceeded to its end without any further discussion, except a few words on the 10th clause from Mr. LABOUCHERE and Mr. GLADSTONE, and a murmur against the 20th from Mr. HUME.

FRIDAY, JUNE 21.

On the motion for bringing up the report on the Sugar Duties Bill, Mr. EWART moved that free labour and slave labour sugars be admitted on payment of the same rates of duty.

Mr. JAMES expressed his astonishment at the proposal, and combated it by repeating the arguments in favour of the claims of the West Indies to protection.

Mr. BARCLAY took a similar view, and thanked the government for the course they had adopted.

A division was then called for, when the proposition was rejected by 183 to 65.

The report was then received.

BRITISH GUIANA.

Mr. HAWES wished to put a question to the noble lord the Secretary for the Colonies. He wished to know whether the noble lord had received a copy of two ordinances passed by the Combined Court of British Guiana, authorising the raising of a loan of 500,000l., to be secured upon the imports into the colonies, and to be applied to the purposes of immigration, and an extension of the civil list for seven years, contingent upon her Majesty's giving her sanction to the first of these ordinances? He wished also to ask the noble lord whether he had removed the restrictions which formerly existed upon female emigration?

Lord STANLEY said the hon. member had been correctly informed with regard to the tenor of the two ordinances made by the council of Demerara. They had been received by the last mail. The first authorized the commissioners to raise a loan in this country. The parties had called upon him (Lord Stanley) to ascertain the opinion of the government on the subject of the loan, and he stated to them that the ordinance appeared to have been passed through all its stages in very great haste; that he thought sufficient time had not been given to form a correct opinion upon the matter, and that he should decline asking her Majesty's pleasure until further information should be received as to the feelings of the colony. That, however, could not interfere with emigration for the present year, because enough had been voted to meet the wants of the colony. With regard to the preservation of a due proportion of the sexes in emigration from the coast of Africa, there had been considerable difficulty found with respect to obtaining a sufficient number of females, but all the papers relating to the subject would be laid on the table of the house if honourable members required them. With regard to emigration from the West Indies, he could assure the honourable member that it was very difficult to obtain a proper number of the more respectable females to accompany their husbands and families; and if they absolutely required that a large number of females should go with every batch of emigrants, such was the difficulty of getting the more respectable females to go, that they would be obliged to make up the number in a way that would not be calculated to increase the respectability of the emigrants. (A laugh.)

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE INTERNAL SLAVE-TRADE.—Extract of a letter dated St. Louis, November 25, 1843:—

"I am sorry to tell you that all that is said in the north of slavery is too true. They do not think half as much of whipping a negro here, as you do of whipping your horse. It is a much more common thing to whip them, than for you to whip your horse. There is not a day but they are transported, some of them on the boats that I am on, from here to the lower States. It makes my very soul grieve to see them. You must know it is one thing to hear, and another to see: seeing is believing. The last trip we made down the river, we had a number of new-bought slaves going to the cotton plantations. I conversed a good deal with them when I had an opportunity. The young ones from ten to fifteen felt well of the change; but the old, from fifteen to forty and upwards, felt very bad, and were crying all the time; some of them chained, and others going at large on the boat. I talked to an old man forty-five years of age, chained fast to a post on the deck, and crying all the time. I asked why they kept him so fast? he said he knew no reason for it, except that they had bought him only yesterday, 100 miles up the river from here, and had taken him from his wife and family of eight children, a distance of one thousand five hundred miles. He had always lived with the same man, and in the same part of the country, till now. His master died, and they were all sold. He was the first sold, and marched right on board the boat, and put in chains. He does not know who his wife or children were sold to. They would not tell him who they sold any of them to, for fear he would try to get back to them. This is but one instance; but if I had time and space, I could record a hundred such."

DR. BRISBANE AND HIS SLAVES.—Several years ago, while Dr. B. was editor of a Baptist paper in South Carolina, we had some little discussion with him on the subject of slavery. He came out frankly, and very fairly attempted to support the system from the Bible. We were at that time better pleased with such a course, than going on in the practice of slavery without any attempt to defend the system. We then judged that an attempt to defend such a system must result in an exposure of its rottenness—and so the event proved. He says a discussion of the subject taught him to apprehend he might be in error. But he soon discovered that freedom of thought on that subject was not to be allowed in South Carolina. He therefore determined to leave that State. He accordingly sold his slaves, and emigrated to Ohio. But further light on the subject convinced him that he had no right to sell human beings—and, after much delay, he has succeeded in the repurchase of all his former slaves, except two, which could not be obtained. The repurchase cost him several thousand dollars more than he received for them; and, in addition to this, he has gone in person, and removed them at an expense of about 600 dollars. After their arrival at Cincinnati, the good people of that city made them a donation-visit to supply their pressing wants. Such examples cannot fail to leave a most salutary and powerful effect on the consciences of many good men at the south.—*Portland Zion's Advocate*.

INHUMAN ASSAULT.—The recently emancipated slaves of Dr. Brisbane were lately conveyed to Greene township, and located in a few tenements belonging to Mr. Lewis, which he had granted for the purpose, till the doctor could make provision for them in Mercer county. Their stay would have been but short, and nobody supposed that they would have become any charge upon the township. With surprise and mortification, however, we learn that they were attacked a few nights since in their dwellings, the windows of which were broken in, and the lives of the inmates endangered by the firing of a gun upon them. Such grovelling inhumanity would disgrace the veriest savages. Among the poor creatures thus assailed were several children, and two extremely aged women, one of them blind. The attack was utterly unprovoked, and could have originated in nothing but simple devilishness. The trustees of the township, we are told, also made a move towards enforcing the law requiring security—a law of impracticable execution. It would have been more to their honour if they had let it sleep on the statute-book.—*Emancipator*.

A SLAVE WHIPPED TO DEATH.—A man by the name of Lamb (?) was recently tried at Charleston, S. C., for whipping a negro to death. Though it was proved that he inflicted 350 lashes, well laid on, in twenty-four hours, and that the slave died soon after, the jury found him not guilty! And such are the tender mercies of slavery, the institution of the patriarchs!

SELLING FREEMEN INTO SLAVERY FOR JAIL-FEES.—The coloured man, Jones, who asserted that he was free, and in whose behalf Mr. Giddings presented a memorial to Congress, we understand has been claimed by his master from Virginia, and yesterday returned home with him. Jones at first professed to be entirely unacquainted with his master, but upon the latter sending home for persons and papers to prove his identity, he acknowledged to the keeper of the prison that he was his master, and he was restored to him forthwith.—*Washington Spectator*.—It is not the less true, that, if he had been a freeman, he would have been sold into slavery to pay his jail-fees.—*Ed. A. S. Reporter*.

FATE OF A RETAKEN FUGITIVE SLAVE.—The *Albany Patriot* gives the particulars of the case of Wm. Johnson, fugitive slave, who escaped with his family into Canada from Missouri, about three years ago. Soon after, he engaged himself as a cook on board one of the Buffalo steamboats, in which situation he was seized by his old master's son, and carried back to Missouri. In order to compel him to confess where his family was he was placed in the stocks, and burnt with red-hot irons on his right side and arm, his tormentors cursing and blaspheming, and threatening to burn his heart out! The President and Secretary of the Albany Vigilance Committee, in their report of this atrocious outrage, say:—"The man is a cripple for life, his whole side seems partially paralysed from the effects of the stocks and burning. He is constantly in pain, and halts when walking—is compelled to use a staff. He showed us the marks he carries, marks of his cruel tormentors, and will carry them to the grave." About three months ago, Johnson escaped a second time from his bondage, and was kindly received by the abolitionists of Albany, on his way to his family in Canada.

AN INTERESTING CASE BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT.—We learn that a very interesting case is soon to come before the Supreme Court at Washington. The question to which it will give rise is, whether the sale of a slave in the county of Alexandria, south of the Potomac, to a person residing in Washington county north of the Potomac, does not entitle such slave to his freedom, under the law of Maryland of 1797, adopted by the Congress of the Union in 1801, by which it was enacted that no slave should be brought into Maryland, Washington county at that time forming a part of it. It is expected that the slave laws of the district will undergo a thorough examination, which, we hope, will throw some light upon the darkness of Congress.—*Cincinnati Weekly Herald*.

PENNSYLVANIAN LAW.—It is a curious fact, and not generally known, that by the laws of Pennsylvania a man may be sold into servitude who refuses to maintain his wife and children; and it is stated that recently a man was sold in Venango county, by order of the court, for an indefinite period, who had refused to maintain his wife and family; they receiving the wages of his labour for their support.—*Morning Chronicle*.

NEGRO-BURNING.—The *St. Louis Republican* gives the particulars of a horrid murder committed by a slave. He went to a shoemaker on the pretence of buying shoes, and struck him with an axe on the back of his neck while in the act of stooping. He then proceeded to where the wife was, demanded powder, and, on her attempting to run, despatched her too with the axe. Such is the account given by the *Republican*. The slave said, that his object in committing the murder was to get money to carry him to Canada. The people, as if determined to outdo the miserable wretch in barbarity, assembled in large numbers, and it was understood, that at two o'clock in the day the boy was to be taken out and burned! The people that can thus set law aside to gratify an infernal passion for revenge, are no better than the victim of their rage.—*Cincinnati Weekly Herald*.

MRS. BURKE'S SLAVE.—Some weeks ago, a Mrs. Burke, from New Orleans, arrived in New York with a woman slave, and put up with a brother-in-law by the name of Morgan. An abolitionist was informed that great caution was observed not to allow the slave to go out, or in any way become acquainted with the coloured people. Every abolitionist deems it his duty to let slaves know, that, when brought or sent into the free States with the knowledge or consent of their masters, they are free by virtue of our laws. Those who bring them naturally put all possible obstacles in the way of their receiving this information; hence a writ of *habeas corpus* often becomes necessary. In this case a writ was granted by Judge Oakley, and the girl was brought into court. While she was waiting to have a hearing Isaac T. Hopper was informed of the circumstance, and he proceeded straightway to the court-room. There he found Mr. Morgan and a friend of his with the slave. The woman, as is often the case in such circumstances, was frightened and undecided. Those who wished her to return to the South plied her with fair promises, and dreadful pictures of what she would suffer if she staid with the "miserable free niggers" of the North. On the other hand, the coloured people, who had assembled about the court-room, were eager to rescue her from slavery. She did not understand their motions, nor those of the abolitionists; for they had been diligently misrepresented to her. "What do they want to do it for?" she asked, with a perplexed air; "what will they do with me?" She was afraid there was some selfish motive; she dared not trust to the professions of strangers. Friend Hopper found her in this state of mind. Mr. Morgan was very willing to speak for her. He gave assurance that she did not want her freedom; that she wished to return South; and that she had been in no respect distrained of her liberty in the city of New York.

"Thou art a very respectable looking man," said friend Hopper, in his good-natured, resolute way; "but I have known slaveholders more genteel looking than thou art tell gross falsehoods when a slave was in the question. I tell thee plainly, I have no confidence in slaveholders in any such cases. I have had too much acquaintance with them; I know their game too well."

Mr. Morgan said something about its being a mean and wrong thing to come between master and servant.

"Such may be thy opinion," replied friend Hopper, mildly; "but my views of duty differ from thine in this matter."

Then turning to the woman, he said,—"By the laws here thou art free. No man has a right to make a slave of thee again. Thou mayest stay at the North, or go back to New Orleans, just as thee chooses."

Mr. Morgan here interposed, to say, "Mind what that old gentleman says: you can go back to New Orleans, to your husband, if you prefer to go."

"But let me tell thee," said friend Hopper to the woman, "that, if thou stayest here, thou wilt be free; but if they carry thee back, they may sell thee away from thy husband. Dost thou wish to be free?"

The tears gushed from her eyes in full floods, as she replied earnestly, "I do want to be free. To be sure I want to be free; but then I want to go to my husband."

Mr. Morgan grew excited. "I only wish we had you in New Orleans!" said he to friend Hopper; "we'd hang you up in twenty-four hours."

"Then you are a set of savages," replied friend Hopper.

"You are a set of thieves," retorted Mr. Morgan.

"Well, savages may be thieves into the bargain," rejoined Isaac, with a significant smile.

"You are no gentleman," responded the other, in a decidedly ungentle tone.

"I don't profess to be a gentleman," answered the imperturbable Quaker; "but I am a little, honest, old man, and that will do as well."

This occasioned a general smile among the bystanders.

The slave being summoned into the Judge's Chambers, friend Hopper followed, wishing to have her clearly understand her own position. He found Mr. Morgan in close and earnest conversation with her. When he attempted to approach he was shoved aside, with the remark, "Don't push me away." "I did not push thee," said friend Hopper; "and see that thou dost not push me." He then inquired of the woman if he had rightly understood her, that her husband was free. She replied in the affirmative.—"Then let me tell thee," said the kind-hearted old man,

"that we will send for him, and obtain employment for him here, if it is thine own choice to remain."

Again she wept, saying "I do want to be free."

She was evidently, however, bewildered and distrustful, and did not know what to make of the opposite professions that were made to her.

On the representation of Mr. Morgan, Judge Oakley adjourned the case till the next morning, telling the woman she might go with whom she pleased.—The coloured people had assembled in considerable numbers, and were a good deal excited. Their abundant experience led them to suppose that she would either be cajoled or forced back into slavery, if left in Southern hands. They therefore hustled her away we know not where. The next we heard was, that she had escaped and gone away with her mistress.

The pro-slavery papers make a great chuckling over this fact, as they always do when some poor ignorant victim is deceived by false representations, alarmed by an excitement that she does not comprehend, afraid that strangers are not telling her the truth, or have not the power to protect her; and in continual terror of future punishment, if she should attempt to take her freedom, and yet be unable to maintain it.—*National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

MORAVIAN SLAVEHOLDERS.—Mr. Shillitoe, in his Journal, gives the following account of his proceedings at the Moravian settlement of Salem, near Springfield, N. Carolina, in 1829:—"After a short interval of silence, I expressed the regard I had long entertained for the Moravian brethren, but the sadness that had covered my mind in passing through their settlement some weeks before, on being informed that they were in the practice of holding men in slavery. I then related the interview that I had with a slave-merchant in Baltimore, who attempted at first to justify his trafficking in his fellow-creatures by the example of individuals who did so, and yet were (he said) making a profession of Christianity. We were informed that their members were advised against the practice. Although I felt much tenderness towards this little company, yet I found I must press upon them the necessity there was, that, ranking high, as they did, as professors of Christianity, they should make it a part of their discipline, and one of the terms of continuing in religious membership with them, as our society had done; and I believe we were brought very near to each other in the bonds of true religious love."

WARLIKE DEMONSTRATION AGAINST MEXICO.—The whole nation has been startled by a positively warlike demonstration against Mexico, ordered by President Tyler, and first made known by the Senate to the people on Friday last. In fact, off the coast and on the frontier of Texas, President Tyler has ordered a navy and an army of observation to be stationed—ready, doubtless, for action—for he states that any invasion of Texas by any foreign power, while a negotiation is pending between Texas and the United States must not be permitted, &c. But however plausibly the President might phrase his reasons, or attempt to clothe his policy in the robes of an imperious necessity or rigid justice—there is no concealing the fact, that Texas is to be treated with; and Mexico, who seeks to recover her as a revolted province, is to be frightened at the actual display and the more than implied menace of cannon and the bayonet. And this, *mirabile dictu!* while the United States and Mexico are in a state of mutual peace and amity. This is a grave—a very grave matter; something new, I ween, in the practice of international law. This warlike demonstration is opposed by nearly all the press and people. In Congress generally (I speak of the house as well as of the Senate) the members are much excited on account of the President's extraordinary conduct, and some few have talked about articles of impeachment, &c.—*Correspondent of Morning Chronicle.*

Miscellanea.

FIVE SLAVERS CONDEMNED AT SIERRA LEONE.—1. The *Lote-ria*, Brazilian brigantine, taken by the *Madagascar*, on her voyage from Rio de Janeiro to Campos. 2. *L'Egeria*, Brazilian schooner, chased by the *Spy*, and run ashore near Appa, where she was destroyed by the captors. 3. The *Uilina*, taken by the *Espoir*, having embarked 546 slaves at Ambing, of whom 128 died on the passage. 4. The *Imperatrix*, Brazilian brigantine, taken by the *Heroine*, on her voyage from Rio de Janeiro to Campos. 5. The *Rolents*, Spanish brigantine, run on shore and wrecked near Black point, while chased by the *Madagascar*.—*Sierra Leone Watchman*, March 24.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE following contributions have been received since our last list was published, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.			Subs.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Preston—Parker, T. G.				1	0	0
Sutton-in-Craven—Green, John.....	0	10	0			
Carlisle—Sutton, Lydia.....	5	0	0			
Shooter's Hill—Nicolls, Col., R.M.				1	0	0
Birmingham, West Bromwich, &c.—Ladies Negro Friend Society.....	40	0	0			
Dublin—O'Connell, Daniel, M.P.....				1	0	0
Haughton, James	2	0	0			
Woodbridge—Ladies Negro Friend Society	5	0	0			
Leeds—Amount collected.....	52	14	0			
Less expenses.....	0	14	0			
Amount received	52	0	0			
Anonymous, per Thomas Harvey	1	10	0			
Armistead, Joseph	1	0	0			
Armistead, John (Springfield Mount)	2	0	0			
Arthington, Robert	5	0	0			
Baines, Edward, and Sons	2	2	0			
Birchall, S. J.	2	0	0			
Cash, Newman.....	3	0	0			
Clapham, John	1	0	0			
Dove, Christopher	1	0	0			

Dyson, William	1	0	0			
Eddison, Edwin	1	0	0			
Goodman, Benjamin	2	2	0			
Harvey, Thomas	0	10	0			
Hitham, James	1	0	0			
Jowitt, Robert (paid in London at the Convention)	5	0	0			
Jowitt, John, jun.....	1	0	0			
Jowitt, R. C.	0	10	0			
Kaye, Joseph	5	0	0			
Payne, R. E.....	1	0	0			
Pease, Thomas B.....	2	0	0			
Ripley, Richard	2	0	0			
Tatham, G. N.....	5	0	0			
Walker, Benjamin	3	0	0			
Walker, Thomas (Springfield Mount)	2	0	0			
Walker, Robert	5	0	0			
Wylde, John	2	0	0			
Exeter Hall—Collected at the Annual Meeting ..	67	17	10			
Charlbury—Albright, William				1	1	0
Albright, Nicholas				2	0	0
Sessions, James				0	10	0
Sunderland—Andrews, James				0	5	0
Backhouse, Edward.....				5	0	0
Backhouse, Edward, jun.....				3	0	0
Backhouse, T. J.....				2	0	0
Binns, Henry				0	5	0
Brown, J.....				0	2	6
Chapman, Abel				0	5	0
Mounsey, Thomas				1	0	0
Mounsey, John				1	0	0
Mounsey, Mary				1	0	0
Ogden, J. M.				0	10	0
Richardson, Edward				1	0	0
Richardson, Thomas				1	0	0
Richardson, Caleb				0	10	0
Thomson, H.				0	10	0
Doncaster Auxiliary	7	0	0			
Aylesbury—Lee, Dr., (Hartwell House,) to make up £10.....	9	0	0			
Bradford—Forster, W. E.				1	1	0
Newcastle-on-Tyne—Beaumont, William	10	0	0	1	1	0
Drewry, Jonathan	0	10	0			
Gilpin, James	1	0	0			
Janson, Charles	0	10	0			
Ladies Emancipation Society	5	0	0			
Richardson, George.....	1	1	0			
Richardson, George, jun.....	1	0	0			
Richardson, John.....	1	1	0			
Richardson, Ann	1	1	0			
Richardson, Jonathan.....	1	1	0			
Watson, Joseph	0	10	0			
Wilson, Robert	0	10	0			
Ufford—Beaumont, John (2 years)				2	0	0
Thornton—Priestman, Jonathan				1	0	0
Priestman, Jonathan, jun.				1	0	0
London—A friend to the Anti-slavery cause, per Capt. C.				10	0	0
Camberwell—Burnet, Rev. John				0	10	0
Lewes—Browne, Henry				0	5	0
Dicker, Thomas				0	10	0
Godlee, Burwood.....				0	10	0
Kidder, James				0	10	0
Rickman, John				1	0	0
Rickman, Richard Peters				0	5	0
Rickman, Sarah				0	5	0
Riggs, Arthur Rennie				0	5	0
Woods, Joseph.....				0	10	0
Woods, Margaret.....				0	10	0
Woods, George and Alfred				0	10	0
London—Crawford, William (Raymond's-bldgs.) ..				1	1	0
Macclesfield—Jesper, Samuel.....				1	0	0
Croydon—Barrett, Jonathan				1	1	0
London—Pryor, Elizabeth				1	1	0
Pryor, W. S.....				1	1	0
Evans, W. R.				1	1	0
Bratt, C. and W.....	1	0	0			
Bristol—Thomas, George	5	0	0			
Wheeler, Daniel				1	0	0
Gloucester—Bowley, Samuel				1	0	0
Tottenham—Fowler, R. M.				0	10	0
Darlington—Harris, John				0	10	0
Manchester—Crewdson, Margaret.....				0	10	0
Falmouth—Fox, Charlotte				0	10	0
London—Thompson, George				0	10	0
Hinton, Rev. J. H.....				0	10	0
Gilpin, Charles				1	1	0
Cork—Beale, Abraham (for 1843 and 44)				2	0	0
Neath Abbey—Price, Joseph T.....	5	5	0			
Stamford Hill—Tylor, Charles				1	1	0

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